

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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July—1



A DEMOCRATIC LEADER, AS VISITOR AT THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

(Hon. William G. McAdoo, with Mrs. McAdoo, were interested onlookers at the great spectacle in Chicago on two successive days. Mrs. McAdoo, who is a daughter of President Wilson, had never before seen a political convention. Mr. McAdoo's personal popularity at Chicago, like that of Mr. Bryan, attests the fact that the spirit of good-will engendered in the united efforts of the war period still exists among our public men, regardless of party ties. Mr. McAdoo's energy and success in marketing unprecedented war loans and in managing the railroad system for war-time efficiency have given him a prominence among presidential candidates that has not been stimulated by any effort on his own part. In the picture, taken by a photographer of the Chicago *Tribune*, Mrs. McAdoo is in the center, and the third member of the group is Mrs. Kellogg Fairbank of Chicago)

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THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 1

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Vacation Time
on
Capitol Hill*

With the adjournment of Congress on Saturday, June 5, and the opening of the Republican National Convention at the beginning of the following week, there was an almost complete shifting of interest in public affairs from Washington to Chicago. For the first time in several years, Senators and Representatives saw ahead of them several months of freedom from official work. Many matters of importance remained to be considered by Congress, but all attempts on the part of certain members to secure a brief recess of a month or more, over the convention period, instead of full adjournment, were emphatically voted down. Senator Underwood, speaking informally, but with evident authority in his capacity as Democratic leader, informed his fellow Senators that the President would not call Congress back to Washington in extra session unless some unforeseen necessity should arise. Thus members of both Houses left Washington for the Conventions or for their homes in the mood of a lot of schoolboys who had passed their examinations and had the long vacation just ahead of them.

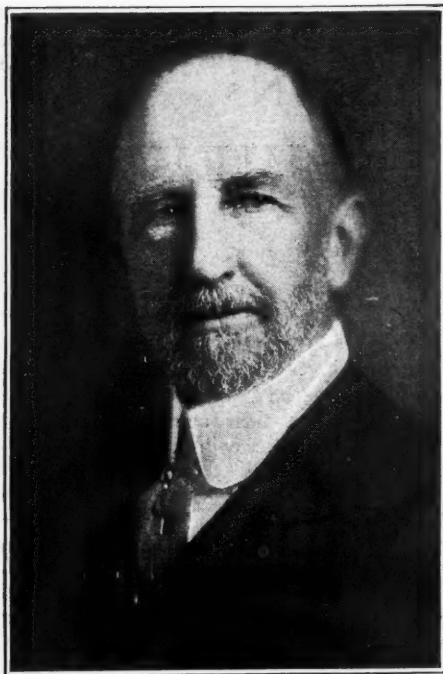
*Congress Off
Duty Till
December*

Unless some emergency should arise, Congress will not be in session until the first Monday in December, and its term will end with that of President Wilson on the fourth of March. Thus the Senators and Representatives could fairly count upon six months of freedom from the legislative grind. Most Representatives, however, are candidates for reelection, and, quite apart from their commitments in the presidential campaign, they have their own political situations to meet in their respective districts. For some of them—especially those from Southern districts—their party nomination is as good as an election, and they are not worried about

what may happen on November 2. But in many districts the Congressmen will be kept very busy with their own campaigns and their incidental share in the State and national contests for all of four months. Thirty-two of the ninety-six Senate seats are also involved in this year's elections. Sixty-four of the Senators will be comparatively free to give attention to private affairs and obtain rest or recreation, although all of them will be drawn to some extent into the general party contest.

*The Caliber
of Our
Law-Makers*

There is such a confirmed habit on the part of many newspapers and many good citizens to carp at Senators and to belittle Congressmen that it is hard to secure open-mindedness for a just estimate of the personal quality and the statesmanship of our national law-making body. We know little about the rank and file of membership in legislative bodies abroad, because under the British, French, Italian, and other representative systems, it is almost invariably true that a small group holding ministerial rank comes to the front for personal approval or criticism, and the ordinary member of a legislative body does nothing except to give his vote along with those of the party group to which he belongs. Our committee system at Washington throws into prominence a much larger number of members of Senate and House than are brought forward in the British House of Commons, for example. There seems to be an impression that our representatives at the two ends of the Capitol building at Washington are men of smaller caliber than their predecessors twenty or forty or sixty years ago. Taking them on the average, however, the men now in public life will gain rather than lose in repute if subjected to strict comparison with those of earlier periods, in points both of intelligence and of character.



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HON. FREDERICK H. GILLETT, OF MASSACHUSETTS,
SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

(Mr. Gillett is completing his twenty-eighth year of continuous service in Congress, and is thoroughly typical of the best New England Republicanism. He made the speech at Chicago placing Governor Coolidge in nomination. In case of Republican victory this fall, he will be Speaker of the next Congress and one of the foremost members of a Government in which Congress will work in close cooperation with the Executive)

*Courage
Required in
Public Life*

There have been times when a few political leaders have seemed to stand out in larger proportions than in these days. But it so happens that the principal professions and lines of business occupation have all of them become "affected with a public interest"; and so many opportunities are afforded for usefulness in general ways that political office has less attraction than in former days for capable and ambitious men. Educators, lawyers, bankers, labor leaders, clergymen, editors, engineers—men of these and many other callings—find large opportunities of public service (and of personal distinction) without seeking to be elected to Congress or to be called into other official places. It takes a special kind of courage for a man to enter the political arena and make a contest at the polls for public office. Instead of disparaging men of ability and character who have this kind of courage, it is well to give them at least as much praise as they deserve. Most

of the members of both houses of Congress, including those of both parties, possess much more than average ability, and meet the test of endurance under the strains and annoyances of public life as comparatively few men could. Members of the Senate are to a considerable extent men who have been promoted after a period of good service in the other House; while a number of Senators have attained their seats as a result of proved service in their States as Governors.

*Government
Is Not Merely
"Business"*

It should be borne in mind that the ability and character of individual Senators and Congressmen is a matter quite apart from the efficient functioning of Congress as a body. Engineers do not build great bridges through the agency of a debating society. Bishops and clergymen, who command unqualified respect and esteem when at work in their parishes and dioceses, are likely to make a less favorable impression upon the community at large when they get together in some great conclave or convention and try to legislate for a denomination. Bankers would probably agree that the members of their profession cut a better figure when at work in their own communities than when gathered in conventions to discuss quasi-political problems affecting the economic life of the nation. The plain truth is that government by discussion is a tedious affair, and that Congress cannot possibly do business with the quiet efficiency of the United States Steel Corporation or the swift decisions of the American Federation of Labor. But this is not the fault of individual members of Congress. Nor is it a fault of anybody. There are those who think of Government solely in the terms of business. They have been imagining that someone who in the exercise of war powers has shown personal vigor, and ability to direct an organization, could transform the American Government and make it run on schedule time and in model fashion, just as the Pennsylvania Railroad system used to operate in the palmy days of railroading. But, while the American Government has a vast deal of business to perform, it is wholly different in its structure and in its nature and objects from a commercial corporation. There are certain ways in which it can be considerably improved, but we shall not dispense with Congress; nor shall we wisely restrict the functions, or further minimize the importance, of the two great halls of legislation.

Personal Rule
in
Peace Time

In the preliminary groping of the country for presidential candidates there has been evident two distinct trends of thought and feeling. On the one hand have been those who have sought to embody the authority of the nation in a personage. Those who think and feel in this way do not like delay and discussion and the tiresome balancing of considerations. They like bold leadership, and they long to follow a hero. The other trend of feeling is that of distrust of the arbitrary ruler, exercising almost unlimited power, and the earnest desire to return to the former plan of a government of checks and balances, with all the parts working at their best. Just before adjourning, Congress with one fell swoop voted to abolish most of the exceptional war-time powers which had been conferred upon the executive in 1917 and 1918. About sixty different war-time acts were thus grouped for purposes of repeal in a single resolution that on June 3 was adopted in the House of Representatives by vote of 343 to 3. On June 4 the Senate adopted the resolution unanimously. At least there was no record of any opposing vote. It was understood

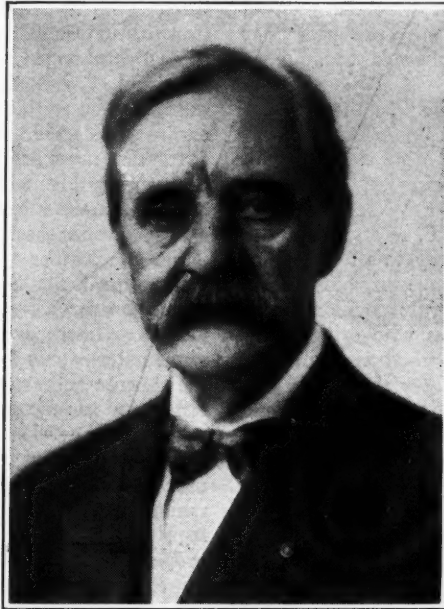
that the repeal of this great mass of war legislation with virtual unanimity would not be opposed by President Wilson. In any case the majorities were so great that a veto could have been overridden. But Congress, meanwhile, adjourned and the President kept all his war-time powers by failing to sign the repeal. Such will be the status until December.

In legal theory the state of war exists until peace treaties are signed; but in obvious fact the United States was at peace when the Euro-

pean war ended with the armistice; and, in a legal sense for which a very good argument can be made, the United States was at peace when everybody else was; that is to say, when ratifications of the Versailles Treaty in Europe caused the war status to disappear. However that may be, the repeal of temporary war-time laws was already long past due; and Congress could not properly have adjourned for its six months' holiday without sweeping away many of the statutes that had been enacted to serve a transient emergency. The Lever

Food and Fuel Control Act was not included in those repealed, nor was the so-called "Trading with the Enemy Act." There were perhaps reasons of practical weight for keeping these laws on the statute books for a somewhat longer period. Thus the critical conditions as regards the supply of such necessary commodities as coal and breadstuffs created by the terrible economic displacements of the war have not yet been overcome. It may be necessary to use the powers granted to the President under the Lever Act to make it fairly certain that coal will be mined and distributed next winter and that famine may be averted by

some public control of supplies, markets, and prices. In general, war measures are obsolete.



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HON. ALBERT B. CUMMINS, SENATOR FROM IOWA

(Mr. Cummins, as president *pro tem.*, is the foremost member of the present Republican Senate and ranks first as a leader in recent legislation of a constructive kind. He was renominated in June by the Republicans of Iowa, and will undoubtedly be reelected in November)

Soldiers'
Bonus Bill
Postponed

The adjournment of Congress left much pending public business in an unfinished state. Just one week before adjournment the lower House, after a debate of considerably less than an hour, had passed a bill appropriating more than \$1,600,000,000 to provide bonuses for men recently in military service. The vote was taken under suspension of rules, with 289 yeas and only 92 nays. Those opposing this action included a number of

Repeal of
War Powers
Failed

the leaders in both parties. The Senate was not disposed to take precipitate action, and the adjournment of Congress postpones the question until next winter. This vote of the House could not have expressed mature conviction. Congressmen were all facing the ordeal of reelection. Great pressure had suddenly been put upon them by groups of ex-service men and their friends. It is true that the men who were selected to wear the uniform were not as well treated as those selected to build ships, manufacture munitions, and operate railroads. The sympathy of Congress was genuine, but the state of public finance did not justify this particular measure. So Congress decided to adjourn.

*Pressure
by
Groups*

Few people realize the pressure that is put upon members of Congress by great organized groups. We are publishing an article this month from the pen of a Washington correspondent, Mr. George P. Morris, who discusses in a thoughtful way this tendency to bring the strong influence of outside organization to bear upon the decisions made at Washington. Citizens who criticize the ex-service men for urging the bonus bill must pause to remember that they themselves perchance belong to the Chambers of Commerce which press their views upon Congress through powerful committees. Or they are members of great farmers' organizations, or of trade unionism as represented by the American Federation of Labor officials and the heads of the Railroad Brotherhoods. Or they are connected with educational bodies which have been urging the enactment of measures granting large amounts of federal aid to education in one form or another. As we have explained in previous numbers of this REVIEW, a foremost achievement of the session now adjourned has been the passage of railroad legislation. The stockholders and managers of the roads found ways to have their views represented at Washington, while, on the other hand, the organized railway employees were successful in securing modification of the original anti-strike clauses. The temperance organizations in a previous session had concerned themselves with details of the Volstead Act, and the organized suffrage movement has shown that it understands well the latest methods of using political pressure upon legislative bodies. We are not condemning these mass attempts to influence legislative work, but are merely pointing out, apropos of the

House vote on the "bonus" bill, the difficult position in which law-makers are sometimes placed by the pressure of organizations, which can make life unpleasant for a Congressman in his home district if his judgment or his sense of duty has not been in accord with their desires.

*"Popular"
Methods in
Practice*

Until a few years ago, as some of our younger voters scarcely remember, and as many women voters may not bear in mind, United States Senators were chosen by the State legislatures. The Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution, which went into effect on May 31, 1913, changed the system in an important way. It caused Senators to be chosen in the States by popular vote, just as the Governors are elected. Furthermore, within recent years most of the States have provided for primary elections in which members of political parties select their candidates. Not a few mature observers hold the view that under the former system, when the legislatures named the Senators, the country secured the services of better qualified individuals. There are men of fitness for service in the Senate who do not care to incur the expense and trouble of two popular contests—one for the party nomination, and another a few weeks later for the election itself. We shall, of course, adhere to the popular election of Senators, at least for a good while to come. It was not fitting that the legislatures should be diverted from their proper work of law-making and State finance by contests, which were often prolonged, over the choice of United States Senators. It is, however, questionable whether the party primary system is desirable and whether it results in securing nominations as satisfactory as could be made by party conventions.

*The System of
"Presidential
Primaries"*

And this leads us to a discussion of the recent presidential primaries and their value in helping the country to secure the best party candidates for what is now the foremost public office in the world. Previous to 1912 the presidential primary was virtually unknown. In that year an effort was made to enact at Washington a law that would provide for the holding of preferential primaries throughout the country to discover the will of the voters in respect to their party nominations. Such a national measure has always failed of passage. Many legislatures, however, have enacted presidential primary laws of

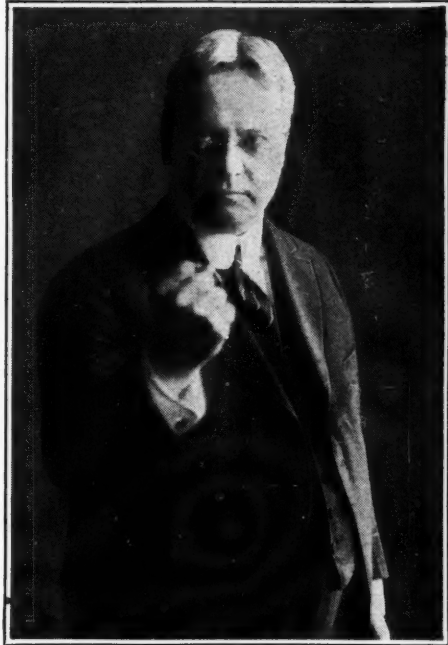
their own, with no attempt at agreement upon dates. Furthermore, hardly any two of these State systems were alike in all respects. Under what motive or stimulus did the presidential primary movement gain such favor that a large number of States adopted it? It is the plain truth of political history that the great national party conventions were not regarded as truly representative of party sentiment. Methods of choosing delegates in the different States had been subjected to severe criticism. Thus delegates from all the Southern States sat in the Republican National Convention in the ratio of the population of their States, even when it was well known that no electoral votes could be secured in those States for a Republican candidate. There were tempting opportunities for machine politics and for the manipulation of delegations by so-called "bosses." The presidential primary system sprung into being in order to secure a check upon the professional politicians.

*"Primaries"
Admittedly
a Failure*

Furthermore, in 1912, there was a rivalry between two eminent Republican candidates which seemed to call for a preliminary referendum. These two candidates had both occupied the presidential chair and needed no publicity effort on anybody's part. Thus in certain States, as, for example, in Ohio, or Pennsylvania, or Illinois, the conditions in 1912 made the popular primary seem to be a desirable test. There were many who believed at that time that the days of the great conventions were at an end. It was predicted that the primary system would be standardized, that nominations would be secured by popular referendum, and that the conventions would merely ratify the main choice, name candidates for the Vice-Presidency, adopt platforms, and adjourn. Such predictions have not been justified, however, in the course of political events. Immense efforts have been made in many States this year to secure victories in these presidential preference primaries that would help to shape the decisions of the great party conventions. The process did not, however, turn out to the satisfaction of any candidates whose friends ventured to seek a popular verdict in advance.

*The
Republican
Aspirants*

The Republican hosts gathered at Chicago in the opening days of June with no candidate enjoying clear prospects of victory. The most prominent of those early in the field was



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SENATOR HIRAM W. JOHNSON, OF CALIFORNIA

(Mr. Johnson's personal campaign had been aggressive and somewhat spectacular. The Convention was obliged to compromise upon a candidate whose positions were regarded as less extreme)

General Leonard Wood. Next was Governor Lowden, of Illinois. A little later the candidacy of Senator Hiram Johnson, of California, came forward in a dashing and brilliant way. The candidacy of Mr. Herbert Hoover was not so much tested in other primaries, but it secured a large popular vote in California in view of Senator Johnson's immense strength in his own State. Senator Harding's candidacy was not greatly pushed outside of his own State of Ohio and such neighboring States as Kentucky and Indiana. The object of the primary system was to bring the candidates frankly and directly before the people in order to guard against such invisible manipulations by political leaders in accord with private interests as might control the conventions and secure the nomination of a ticket not in the best sense representative of the party's aspirations. But a primary system having these commendable purposes is not an easy thing to deal with in practical experience. The more prominent the candidate by reason of the sincere good will of a host of citizens, the more difficult it becomes to ignore the fact that the State

laws provide for the primary test. Experience, moreover, has shown that the primary test cannot be met by a nation-wide candidate without organization and heavy expense.

*Money
and
Results*

It has always been admitted that a party may legitimately expend several million dollars in pushing the campaign after the conventions have made their nominations and before election day. But it should be remembered that the preliminary primaries are also election contests, and that men who have been made active candidates by reason of their prominence and popularity cannot well go through with these ordeals without organization and publicity work that runs into large expenditures. Men who are known as receptive candidates, and who do not rely upon personal popularity but upon the chances of a deadlocked convention, have no temptation to expend sums of money in the preliminary contests. It is not fitting, therefore, that they should disparage those candidates who took the trouble and risk of having their names entered in various State primary elec-

tions. It would be absurd to claim that the mere expenditure of money secured delegates who went to Chicago prepared to vote for Hiram Johnson on the first ballot. It is equally beside the truth to attribute the votes that went to General Wood or Governor Lowden or Senator Harding to the expenditure of money by the respective campaign managers in northern States holding primary elections.

*A
Harmful
Ordeal*

It is not probable that these candidates would have fared worse in the convention if there had been no State primaries for the presidency. All of them were before the country for no reason except that they were regarded as good presidential timber by great numbers of their fellow citizens. The money raised and expended in the preliminary contests, far from being used to secure political manipulation, was used mainly for opposite reasons. The primary system has not been at all adapted to the political conditions of the present year. It has been a useless ordeal, tending to hurt rather than to help the candidates. Leading Republican candidates, however, could not very well ignore the existence of the State laws that provided for the primary contest. If a man were unfit in either a public or a private sense for the presidency, the more money his backers should expend to bring him prominently before the people, the more certainly would his unfitness be exposed. This is a very large country, and the conduct of an organized political effort is not a matter of a few dollars. The total expenditure on behalf of General Wood was probably not enough to send a single letter with a single small pamphlet by mail to each voter in the country. A number of candidates had been named in advance for both great parties, and all of them were upright and able men. There was no possibility of influencing either great convention this year by improper methods—much less by bribery and corruption.

*Candidates
and the
Investigation*

It was, perhaps, useful upon the whole that the facts about preliminary expenditures should have been brought out by the sub-committee at Washington under the chairmanship of Senator Kenyon. But many readers of newspapers were misdirected, either by headlines or by comment, into forming the opinion that there had been an intentional misuse of large funds to secure the Republican nomination



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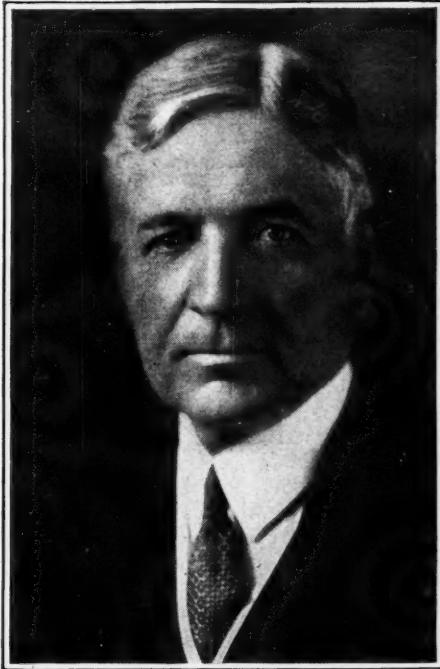
GENERAL LEONARD WOOD AND MRS. WOOD, AS
PHOTOGRAPHED AT CHICAGO

(General Wood was a strong candidate with one-third of the Convention, but failed to prove himself the second choice of an additional 200 delegates)

for General Wood or Governor Lowden, and to secure the Democratic nomination for Mr. McAdoo. The facts as disclosed did not lead to any such conclusions. The thing that stands most evidently condemned as a result of the inquiry at Washington is the presidential primary itself, at least as now provided for under the different State laws. Governor Lowden preferred to spend his own money, while on General Wood's behalf a large sum was advanced by a disinterested friend of undoubted honor, sincerity, and patriotism. It became evident after the inquiry that these expenditures had somehow hurt the prestige of Governor Lowden and General Wood as candidates. Yet the thing at fault was the system. These two candidates themselves were doubtless as free from any thought of spending money in improper ways as were the other candidates. In the light of all the facts and circumstances, there should be improvement made in the primary system, or else it should be abandoned.

*How the
Primary System
Began*

Furthermore, it should be kept clearly in mind that these cumbersome and expensive primaries for getting at the real preference of Republican voters were adopted, not because a choice by great conventions with about a thousand delegates was intrinsically to be condemned, but simply because the Republican National Convention was not fairly representative of the actual Republican voters. The Democratic party, for obvious reasons having to do with the distribution of the Democratic vote, can get along very well with a convention made up of delegates apportioned to the States in accordance with

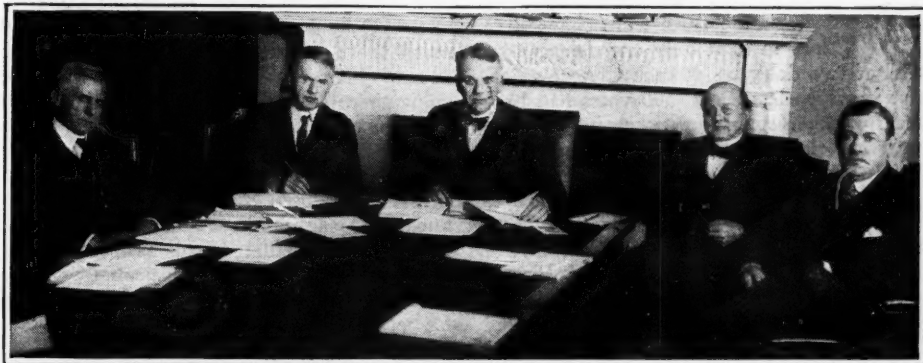


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GOVERNOR FRANK O. LOWDEN, OF ILLINOIS

(Governor Lowden's personal popularity grew throughout the convention, and he would probably have been nominated as the compromise candidate but for mischances due to the primary system)

the total population. It is also true that a Democratic National Committee made up of one member from each State may usually be regarded in an average way as a fairly representative party group. A Republican convention, however, is not in the same sense a truly representative body if such States as



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THE SENATE SUB-COMMITTEE, WHICH INVESTIGATED EXPENDITURES IN THE PRIMARIES, HAS BEEN AUTHORIZED TO KEEP TRACK OF CAMPAIGN FUNDS UNTIL ELECTION DAY

(In the center is Senator Kenyon, of Iowa, Chairman. The other four, from left to right, are Senator Reed [Dem.], of Missouri; Senator Spencer [Rep.], of Missouri; Senator Pomerene [Dem.], of Ohio, and Senator Edge [Rep.], of New Jersey)

Texas, Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, the Carolinas, and Florida are accorded as many delegates as the Northern States of like population, upon whose voting the fate of a Republican candidate must wholly depend.

*The
Southern
Delegations*

With one or two hundreds of delegates in the Republican Convention from States in which the Republican party is practically non-existent, there is serious danger that, in a time when the delegates from actual Republican States are divided in opinion, the ticket may be made and the platform shaped by groups of Southern delegates—holding the balance of power—who can do nothing after the convention is over for the success of the ticket or the platform. The great Republican split of 1912 was brought about by this state of affairs. Control of the convention by a bare majority turned upon contests between rival Southern delegations. The situation tempts the managers of leading candidates to invade the South long before convention time and organize their own groups of politicians. Through a week or more preceding the opening of the Republican Convention at Chicago on June 8, the National Committee was occupied in dealing with contests from almost every one of these Southern States. All sincere and intelligent Republicans realized the impropriety of the system that had produced these contests. Everyone testifies that this year's contests were patiently heard at Chicago, and adjusted with scrupulous fairness. But the system itself was seen to be wrong and fraught with danger.

*The
Old Rule
as Modified*

After the disastrous split of 1912 the rules were changed so as to allot only one delegate instead of two delegates to each Congress District in which less than 7500 votes had been cast for the Republican ticket in the next preceding election. This new rule resulted in reducing the representation of Texas from 40 delegates to 23, of Louisiana from 20 to 12, of Arkansas from 18 to 13, of Alabama from 24 to 14, of Georgia from 28 to 17, of South Carolina from 18 to 11, of Florida from 12 to 8, and of Virginia from 24 to 16. North Carolina lost only two delegates and Tennessee only four. Every State in the Union retained its four delegates-at-large, regardless of population or of Republican votes. More than a hundred of these Southern seats were contested at Chicago in the

recent convention. They were all from States which will probably give large majorities to the Democratic ticket in November.

*Drastic Reform
Now
Expected*

If the Republicans should leave undisturbed the 192 delegates-at-large, assigned equally to the forty-eight States, and should base about 800 seats in the convention upon actual Republican votes as cast in previous elections, they would secure a convention body so fairly able to express Republican sentiment that the cumbersome preference primaries might well fall into disuse. Any rearrangements to make the national convention truly representative and to keep the National Republican Committee and the State Republican Committees in reasonable accord with prevailing party sentiment would obviously strengthen the party and at the same time react favorably upon the political and governmental conditions of the country at large. In the closing moments of the convention at Chicago, after the ticket had been agreed upon, a rule was adopted authorizing the National Committee to deal with the problem of representation; and we may expect a reformed system before 1924.

*Conventions
Always Are
Disappointing*

The Democratic party at San Francisco will reach results that must inevitably disappoint many people; and in the first smart of resentment over what will have upset their plans or rendered futile their preliminary labors, they will say bitter and disparaging things. This is what always happens at the end of every national convention of either great party. But if it is probable in advance that there will be a stubborn contest at San Francisco, with many people doomed to disappointment, how much more certain was it, in the opening days of June, that the Republicans were not going to end their convention at Chicago in a love feast of overflowing enthusiasm. The Democratic primaries have this year made no particular impression, because the party situation has been overshadowed by the influence of the White House. But several Republican candidates had been compelled by circumstances to take the primary contest seriously, and their managers had gone to Chicago prepared to force conclusions. So much feeling had been aroused within party circles that when the convention opened on June 8 it was not believed by careful and detached observers that any one of the three leading candidates could win.

*The Deadlock
at
Chicago*

The Republican convention consisted of 984 members, and half of these plus one, namely 493, were requisite to success. General Leonard Wood began with $287\frac{1}{2}$ on the first ballot and reached his highest vote, $314\frac{1}{2}$, on the fourth ballot. Governor Lowden, of Illinois, began with $211\frac{1}{2}$ on the first ballot and ultimately obtained the same strength as General Wood. The highest number of votes received by Senator Johnson was 148, on the third ballot. The great delegations of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio were predominantly against General Wood, and also against Senator Johnson. The Wood supporters and also the Johnson supporters were in the main resolutely opposed to Governor Lowden. It is quite possible that Lowden might have been nominated but for the Senate investigation and the disclosures regarding the use of money in Missouri. Delegates were disposed to regard Lowden himself as the unlucky victim of this episode, and he came through the convention retaining the personal respect and good will of everybody concerned; but it was widely asserted that his availability as a candidate had been seriously injured.

*The
Convention
Itself*

The convention itself was a most reputable and well-conducted body of men and women. It opened on Tuesday morning and closed Saturday evening. It had become evident Saturday forenoon that a compromise candidate must be found, and Senator Warren G. Harding, of Ohio, best met the conditions. A ninth ballot to test out the disposition of the convention toward Ohio's candidate proved favorable, and on the tenth, with Pennsylvania and New York ready for agreement, the nomination of Warren G. Harding was accomplished with a large margin to spare. The delegates had become fatigued and were eager to return to their homes, to escape the heat and the exactions of hotel-keepers. The balloting had not begun until the middle of Friday afternoon. The convention's time for three days seemed to be frittered away by futilities; but, quite regardless of the postponement of the voting, there had been undercurrents in constant motion. It is reasonable to express the opinion that the convention actually arrived at deliberate results, although its final conclusion came by a series of negative verdicts rather than by positive affirmation. When on Friday the orators named their candidates there



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HON. WARREN G. HARDING, SENATOR FROM OHIO

(Mr. Harding was nominated for the presidency at Chicago on the tenth ballot, having received 692 votes)

was protracted applause, successively, for Wood, Lowden, and Johnson; but the gallery demonstrations were not infectious or convincing, although they were led by strong bodies of voting delegates.

*Some Marks
of
Sentiment*

When Mr. Herbert Hoover's name was presented there was no delegate whatever to start a demonstration, but there was prolonged cheering and flag waving in the galleries, and it seemed to be spontaneous. There were many men and women of great intelligence attending the convention who were advocates of Hoover; and Hoover headquarters were maintained on a generous scale. But on the first ballot Hoover received only $5\frac{1}{2}$ votes, and the highest number cast for him was $9\frac{1}{2}$ on the last ballot, when the earlier alignments were breaking up. As we have remarked in previous numbers of the REVIEW, there had been a general disposition to nomi-

nate Colonel Roosevelt. His death left no candidate clearly capable of winning general support and carrying the convention by storm. General Wood's only chance lay in coming somewhere near victory on the opening ballots. He was gallantly supported by many of Colonel Roosevelt's friends and was excellently presented to the convention by Governor Allen, of Kansas, and by Mrs. Corinne Roosevelt Robinson, of New York.

*Harding's
Party
Vouchers*

We are glad to present in this number of the REVIEW a character sketch of Senator Harding, the Republican nominee, written for us since the convention by the Hon. Simeon D. Fess, himself one of the most useful and able public men that Ohio has sent to Washington in recent times. After a notable career as an educator and writer of text books, Mr. Fess is about to make his own campaign for a fourth consecutive term in Congress. In their support of a fellow-Ohioan for the Presidency, such men as Mr. Fess were well reinforced at Chicago by former Progressive leaders in their State like the Hon. Walter F. Brown. It was plain enough at Chicago that the old cleavage between the two wings of the party had disappeared, insofar as principles and convictions were at stake. In the split of 1912 Mr. Harding stood with Mr. Taft, of his own State, and not with Mr. Roosevelt. There was bitterness on both sides, and disagreeable personalities. But sensible politicians are not nursing old grievances. The issues of 1912 are in no sense those of 1920. The Hon. William H. Taft stands to-day in the foremost rank of men who look forward, in a progressive spirit, towards the tasks and duties of to-morrow. Mr. Taft regards Senator Harding as a very representative and suitable Republican candidate in view of the issues now at stake. There is common testimony as to Senator Harding's fitness in point of personal qualities. He is of suitable age, of vigorous health, typical in spirit and temper of those normal and well-poised American men in professional or business life who are esteemed in their home communities and who succeed in life by a consistent and industrious course and upon their own recognized merits. As the campaign goes on it will be a commonly accepted view among Republicans that Mr. Harding is an excellent candidate. His rivals are cordially supporting him, just as he in turn would have supported them.

*Conceptions
of the
Presidency*

Much of the confusion of mind produced by the writers of newspaper editorials about the merits of candidates results from the fact that these writers have no common standards. The Presidency is a peculiar office, and no one can be quite sure in advance about the way in which any particular man would meet the exigencies of the position. One man thinks of the President as a public servant, while another man thinks of him as a ruler, a public master. There are those who have formed the habit of speaking in the harshest terms about Congress, and who would prefer as our form of government a quadrennial dictatorship by the President. Some men desire to have a President surrounded by a Cabinet made up of men of great weight and authority, so that fiscal policies, for instance, shall be dominated by a great Secretary of the Treasury like Alexander Hamilton or John Sherman, and foreign policies directed by a great Secretary of State like Daniel Webster or Elihu Root. Other people think of the Presidency as an office that ought to be filled by some sort of universal genius, capable of directing domestic and foreign policies and requiring a Cabinet merely for the routine conduct of departmental work. It is quite possible that the country needs harmony and definiteness in its public policies more than anything else, with partisanship reduced to a minimum, and happy relations among President, Cabinet, and both houses of Congress. Senator Harding receives the nomination without commitments or obligations of any kind, and if elected is likely to make good appointments and to take sane and normal views on most questions. President Lincoln found strong Cabinet material among men who had been regarded as presidential timber. Senator Harding is a student of American political history.



RESIDENCE OF SENATOR HARDING, MARION, OHIO



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THE REPUBLICAN NOMINEE FOR THE VICE-PRESIDENCY, GOVERNOR CALVIN COOLIDGE OF MASSACHUSETTS WITH HIS FAMILY

(Left to right: John, Mrs. Calvin Coolidge, Governor Coolidge, and Calvin, Jr.)

*Harding
on the
Treaty Issue*

Mr. Harding will probably remain most of the summer at his home in Marion, Ohio, a thriving little city about fifty miles north of Columbus. He is an excellent speaker and stumper; but the newspapers will distribute his utterances to the public without his making arduous campaign journeys. He has expressed himself clearly upon all pending questions, and there is no excuse whatever for the mis-statements about him in which certain writers on metropolitan newspapers have indulged. As a member of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, he has been in close touch with the long discussion of the treaty and the League of Nations. Mr. Harding has the gift of lucidity, and there is no reason for doubt as to his meaning. He worked in the Senate with the Republican majority, who, to quote from one of his speeches last fall, were "agreed to bring about the ratification of this treaty if they are convinced that reservations have been adopted which are sufficient to safeguard the interests of the United States of America." This was his position last November and it has not been changed. It has not been different from the position taken by President Lowell, of Harvard, nor different from that of Mr. Hoover as expressed in all of his utterances of recent weeks. Yet newspapers which were enthusiastic for Mr. Hoover, as a treaty-and-league man, were

unsparing in their condemnation of Mr. Harding. Fair minded people, including such men as Mr. Hoover himself, ought not to condone the recklessness with which newspapers of high standing indulge in prejudices to the confusion of their readers. Senator Harding is wholly predisposed toward responsible and broad-minded foreign policies.

*Definite
on Domestic
Questions*

Senator Harding supported the Cummins railroad bill, including its plan for settling labor questions without strikes, in a frank and straightforward way that did him much credit. It is ridiculous for the agitators to pretend that men like Senator Cummins, Governor Allen and Mr. Harding are not friends of labor because they have desired to protect both labor and the public at the same time by providing more effective remedies for labor's grievances than are likely henceforth to be secured by strikes. It is true that strikes tend to give power to labor leaders; but they also bring much hardship to strikers' families. Senator Cummins, who is President *pro tem.* of the Senate and the foremost Republican member of that body, comes up this year for reelection in Iowa, and he secured his renomination in the local primaries while the Chicago convention was assembling. He is entitled to reelection on the ground of great public service rendered, and Iowa should support him regardless of party.

If Mr. Harding should be elected President it would mean the kind of Republican victory that would give assurance of continued Republican majorities in the Senate and the House. As Chief Executive, Mr. Harding would work in cordial coöperation with Congress under the leadership of such men as Senator Cummins and Speaker Gillett.

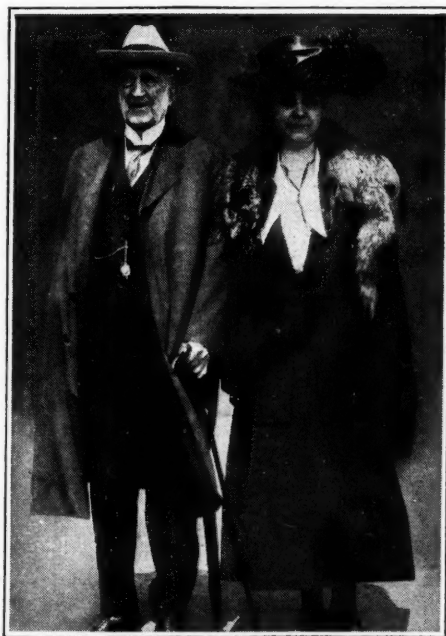
*Gov. Coolidge
Named for
Vice-President*

The selection for Vice-President was made quickly, only one ballot being taken. Senator Medill McCormick of Illinois nominated Senator Irvine L. Lenroot of Wisconsin in a brief speech declaring that the man named for second place ought to be of presidential size. Mr. Lenroot is one of the best men in the party, and might have secured strong support for the presidency but for Mr. La Follette's control of the Wisconsin delegation. Furthermore, the convention did not think that Senators ought to have every post of honor; and the popular Governor of Massachusetts won easily on the first ballot. Governor Allen of Kansas and Colonel Anderson of Virginia were also mentioned, and either one of them would have been entirely acceptable to the convention. Mr. Coolidge's name had been presented on behalf of Massachusetts as a presidential candidate in a speech by Speaker Gillett that was one of all the best of the platform efforts. He had also been eulogized from the platform by Mrs. Alexander Carlisle Peiffer of Massachusetts, in a brief speech that was as felicitous as anything that the convention heard. Mr. Lenroot is needed in the Senate; and Governor Allen is young and has plenty of work cut out for him in his own State. Calvin Coolidge has the good will of the country, including that of the workingmen of Massachusetts. He stood for the supremacy of law and government when the Boston policemen went on strike, and he was reelected Governor by an unprecedented majority. His name strengthens the ticket somewhat as the name of Roosevelt strengthened the McKinley ticket twenty years ago.

*Leadership at
the Chicago
Convention*

The leaders of the former Progressive movement were present at Chicago in great strength, and the convention did not, perhaps, do itself full justice in the matter of its selections of men for platform prominence. The Chairman of the National Committee, Mr. Will Hays, however, was a good representative of the

younger and the forward-looking elements, while much praise is due to several women who made brief nominating speeches and who won most of the platform laurels. If Mr. Lodge, Mr. Depew, and ex-Speaker Cannon represented the history and traditions of the party, it was Will Hays, Governor Allen, and some of the younger men and women present, who were doing the work upon which the party must rely for its present and future success. The nomination of Senator Harding was helped in no small degree by the vigor, strength and infectious enthusiasm with which ex-Governor Willis, of Ohio, presented his name. As respects convention leadership and management, the criticism most frequently expressed was directed toward a number of Republican Senators who were regarded as having come from Washington to Chicago to dominate a convention which they might (in the opinion of these critics) have served better by their absence. The so-called keynote speech should, said the critics, have been made by a member of the party who had not been involved in the tedious disputation between the Senate and the White House.



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HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW AND MRS. DEPEW AT CHICAGO

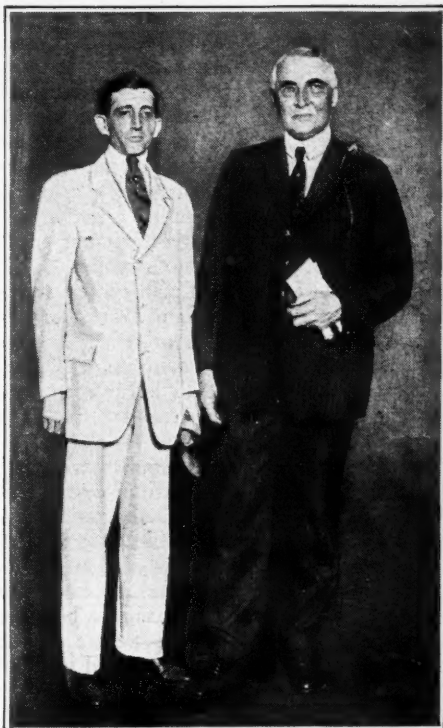
(Mr. Depew, of New York, now in his eighty-seventh year, gave younger Republicans a fine example of spirited and felicitous oratory, his voice easily filling the great convention hall)

An Occasion
Not Fully
Improved

Governor Morrow, of Kentucky, would have aroused enthusiasm; and some vigorous young leader for permanent chairman would have expedited the convention's business and perceived the opportunity for making the whole occasion an educational and inspiring one, keeping in mind the presence of many new voters, especially the enfranchised women. In view of all the thrilling history that the country has made since the convention of 1916, there was opportunity for splendid oratory and distinguished platform leadership. The tradition of mysterious management behind the scenes is always resurrected for these occasions; and many gullible persons supposed that this Chicago convention was controlled by Senator Penrose, who was seriously ill in Philadelphia. Governor Sproul, of Pennsylvania, was well supported, but not well enough known to the country for convention success this year. Dr. Butler had most of the great New York delegation behind him, and would have made a fine presiding officer and official orator if he had not been a recognized candidate for the nomination. Inasmuch as the Senators present were supporting half a dozen different candidates, it was absurd to charge them with having conspired to control the proceedings.

"Two-thirds"
Rule at
San Francisco

The two great parties as organized are in a real sense a portion of the nation's machinery of government. It is an injury to the nation as well as to the party itself if one or the other of these organizations works under improper rules. Drastic reform will now be demanded and expected. Far from hurting such rudiments of Republicanism as exist in the South, the proposed reform of "rotten boroughs" will have exactly the opposite effect. As we have already intimated, there is much less practical reason for changing the basis of representation in the Democratic Convention. Whether or not the two-thirds rule should be abrogated is the question of most importance for Democrats to consider. But for the rule requiring a two-thirds vote instead of a majority vote, Hon. Champ Clark would have been the Democratic nominee in 1912 and would undoubtedly have been elected President instead of Mr. Wilson. Clark had carried the Democratic primaries and had a majority in the Baltimore convention, his vote on the tenth ballot being 556 and Mr. Wilson's only 350. It was not until the forty-sixth ballot



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HON. WILL H. HAYS, CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, AS CAUGHT IN A FLASHLIGHT SNAPSHOT WHILE CONFERRING WITH SENATOR HARDING AFTER THE CONVENTION WAS OVER. MR. HAYS WILL BE CHIEF CAMPAIGN MANAGER

that Mr. Wilson had votes enough to nominate him. Four years ago the ticket of Wilson and Marshall was renominated by acclamation. This year at San Francisco, if the nomination were made by simple majority vote, as in Republican conventions, it is quite possible that Mr. William G. McAdoo would be chosen on the first ballot.

How It May
Affect
Candidates

As matters stand, an anti-McAdoo combination formed by Tammany's New York leaders in conjunction with such delegations as those of Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky, might block the nomination of McAdoo. On the other hand, Mr. Bryan and his friends might surely block a "wet" candidate. The San Francisco Convention will have 1092 members. A group of 365 delegates holding firmly to the purpose of defeating any particular candidate could outweigh the preference of as many as 727 delegates. If Governor Cox of Ohio, or Vice-President Mar-

shall, or Mr. McAdoo, or Senator Owen of Oklahoma, or Ambassador John W. Davis, is to carry the day at San Francisco, he must obtain at least 728 votes. It is obvious that this two-thirds rule is of importance, not merely to Democrats but to the whole country. It has given us Wilson rather than Champ Clark for President during a period of eight years continuing until next March. Unless death should intervene, our next President will be Warren Gamaliel Harding, or else he will be the man chosen under the two-thirds rule at San Francisco. It is a question, therefore, of wide interest whether or not the minority in a Democratic convention ought to be able to veto the choice of the majority.

*Platform
Pledges*

In our next number we shall present a comparison of the Republican and Democratic platforms. The Republicans were wise to deal with the peace and treaty question on its merits, rather than upon the details of the long controversy over ratification as between the White House and the Senate. The plank as adopted had been prepared in New

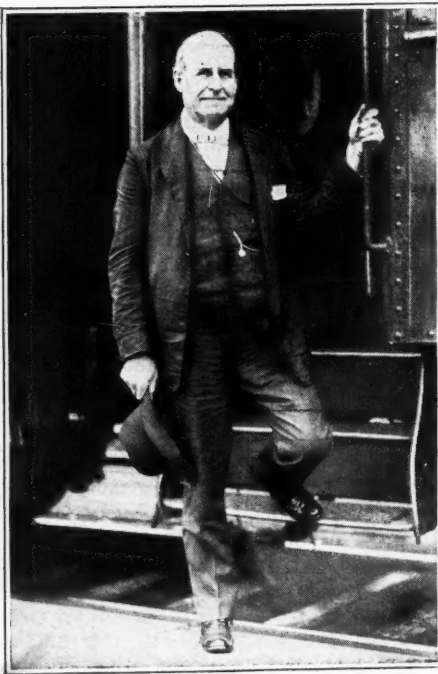
York principally by Mr. Root before his departure for Europe, where he is working with a group of distinguished jurists upon the technical framework of an international court of judicature. This year's election is not destined to be a "solemn referendum" on the League of Nations. That issue cannot by any stretch be made to lie parallel with the cleavage between parties. The Chicago convention adopted a very reasonable plank on labor and industry, but it is denounced by some of the leaders of organized labor, including Mr. Gompers. The Democrats at San Francisco may not find it any easier to satisfy the spokesmen for organized labor. The Chicago convention refused to accept either of the proposals about Ireland that were urged by two factions of the Irish leaders. If the Democrats at San Francisco yield to dictation on this point, in order—as they will be promised—to secure three million Irish-American votes, they will merely embarrass their presidential candidate; and they will not be very sure of winning the votes by methods so palpably lacking in real conviction.

*Mr.
Bryan's
Forecasts*

Mr. William J. Bryan, who constantly attended the Chicago convention and who will be the foremost personal figure in the Democratic convention at San Francisco, has contributed to this issue of the REVIEW a frank and straightforward article upon policies and issues as likely to present themselves to the assembled Democracy. Mr. Bryan for the past half year has strongly favored the acceptance of the Senate reservations and the adoption of the peace treaty. Not only does he rejoice in the fact that national prohibition is an established thing, but he believes that both great parties ought to uphold it. Since the Republicans did not mention it at Chicago, he will insist that the Democrats endorse it at San Francisco. His labor views seem very much like those of the Republicans, as also do his opinions on various other subjects. He does not discuss candidates, and does not see that any individual stands out as the party's fore-ordained leader for the reconstruction period ahead of us.

*Party Feeling
Not
Intense*

It is fortunate for the country that American partisanship today is not the bitter, harsh, and divisive thing that one sees in most foreign countries and that formerly existed here. The parties are rival organizations, each



HON. WILLIAM J. BRYAN

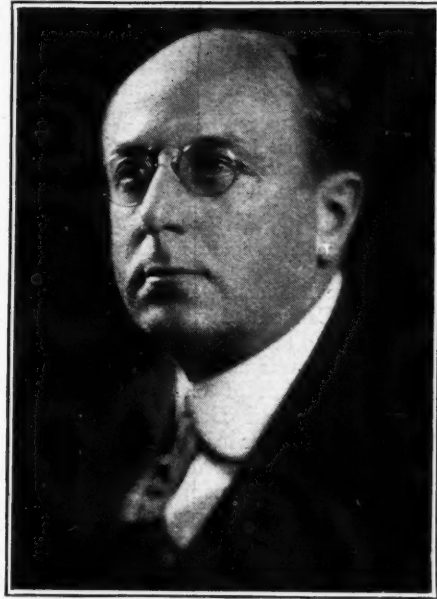
(Who reported the Chicago Convention and who may be the foremost figure in the convention of his own party at San Francisco)

seeking the honor and advantage of running the Government for the good of the country and for the incidental benefit of a certain number of persons who wish to hold office. Mr. Bryan was not the only distinguished Democrat who visited the Chicago Convention. Mr. and Mrs. McAdoo were welcomed as honored guests by the genial manager of the great show (Mr. Upham, of Chicago, Treasurer of the National Committee), as was the Hon. David R. Francis of Missouri, not to mention various other Democrats. In similar manner, any prominent Republican visitors who may happen along will doubtless be treated with ample courtesy at San Francisco. It would look as if the political pendulum might swing clear through and put the Republicans in full power. But the Democrats have made a record of great achievement since 1913, and they will be strong enough this year to profit a good deal by any serious mistakes made on the other side. Mr. Homer S. Cummings, Chairman of the National Committee, will make the keynote oration and will of course speak without apology for the two four-year terms of President Wilson and the three two-year periods of Democratic control in Congress. There will be no occasion for recriminating charges in this year's campaign, whether against parties or candidates. Neither party will be under Wall Street control, nor will either one be Bolshevistic. They are not far apart on the tariff; they do not differ appreciably on questions of money, taxation, and finance; there is little difference between them on questions of army and navy policy, or relations with Europe. The Mexican problem is in no sense one for partisan treatment. The voters have simply to decide whether or not they think that the Republican party may now deal more efficiently with most of the problems before us than the party which has held executive power since March, 1913, and which for six years was also in control of Congress.

*Mr. Wilson
Provides the
Platform*

The Democratic platform at San Francisco will be constructed by a method radically different from that which the Republicans had adopted. Every important section or clause of the Republican platform had been made the subject of a great deal of preliminary conference. Never in the history of one of the great parties, it may be claimed, had so much effort been made to give just expression to party opinion upon the great questions of

July—2



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HON. HOMER S. CUMMINGS, OF CONNECTICUT, CHAIRMAN OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
(Who will be temporary chairman at San Francisco and make the keynote speech)

the day as in the preparation of this year's Republican platform. Such a method is more available for the party out of power than for the party in control of the Government. It would have worked better for the Republicans if the present Congress were Democratic. As matters stand, the Democrats can attack the recent record of the Republicans in Congress, while the Republicans criticize the Democratic Administration. President Wilson has been so completely the spokesman of his party as well as the master of its practical policies that it would have been quite out of the question this year to have tried to frame a Democratic platform on the Republican plan of inquiry and conference. The President has proceeded by definite acts and clear utterances to provide his party in advance with all the essential parts of its campaign program.

*Wilson's Veto
of Knox
Resolution*

Senator Glass of Virginia had written the platform adopted by the convention of his own State in May; and this had been approved by the President as interpreting and upholding the Administration record. Senator Knox had secured the passage through both Houses of his brief resolution intended to make the

state of peace legal as well as actual. President Wilson, on May 27, had sent to Congress a ringing and indignant veto message culminating in the following sentence:

Such a peace with Germany—a peace in which none of the essential interests which we had at heart when we entered the war is safeguarded—is, or ought to be, inconceivable, as inconsistent with the dignity of the United States, with the rights and liberties of her citizens, and with the very fundamental conditions of civilization.

Thus the President had provided the San Francisco Convention with the full record upon which to take its position as regards the ending of the war and the making of peace. The adjournment of Congress, not to assemble again until December 6, was undoubtedly a matter of immense relief and satisfaction to President Wilson. When Congress is not in session, it is virtually nonexistent as part of the working Government.

Retention of War Power

Although Congress had been practically unanimous in both Houses in voting to repeal about sixty war-time measures, many of which had conferred unusual power upon the President, this desirable proceeding was made of no effect through what is termed a "pocket veto." This means that the bill fails if the President does not act upon it while Congress is still in session. The repeal was voted only a day or two before adjournment; and thus the President retains all of this war-time powers until Congress meets again next December. At that time Congress will either pass the bill over a presidential veto, or it will take effect within a certain number of days if the President does not act one way or the other. The retention during another half year of extraordinary war powers by the President as against the judgment of both parties in Congress was a disappointment to the country, although not involving the prospect of any improper or unjust use of authority.

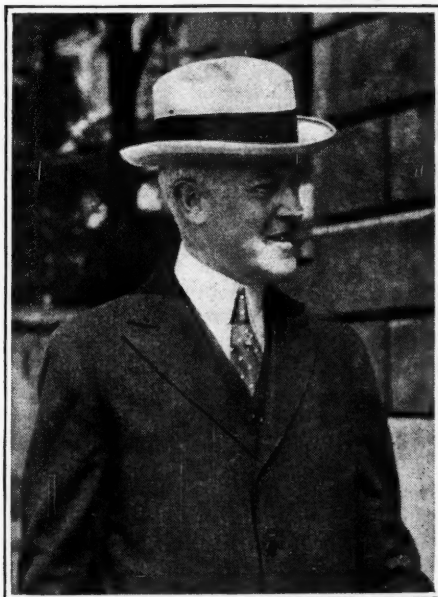
Wilson's Criticism of Congress

Mr. Wilson took advantage of the moment of adjournment, when the work of Congress was naturally under discussion, to secure a place on the front page of the Sunday newspapers of June 6 for a sweeping criticism of this Republican branch of the government. The President's assault was embodied in a telegram to the heads of the seventeen Railroad Brotherhoods. "It must be evident to all," said Mr. Wilson, "that the dominating mo-

tive which has actuated this Congress is political expediency rather than lofty purpose to serve the public welfare." He proceeded to specify congressional neglects and failures, especially in respect to remedies for the high cost of living. This sharp attack upon the Republican Congress provides another keynote for the San Francisco convention. From the President's standpoint—and quite correctly—the Presidential campaign is the functioning of a great debating society, carrying on intensively through a series of weeks. For purposes of debate, the President has been creating a strong, logical position. Ratify the treaty, says the President, and then peace comes in a legal way to America as it has already come to the Allied countries and to Germany. Ratify the treaty, and the war-time legislation will follow into the discard of itself, without congressional repeal. The President's position is always tenable for purposes of debate.

The Budget Bill Vetoed

From the standpoint of the President and of the Administration, this Republican Congress has made a record of bungling inefficiency in dealing with economic problems. From the standpoint of its own Republican leadership, the Congress has done very well.



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HON. JOHN W. DAVIS, AMBASSADOR TO GREAT BRITAIN
(Who is much discussed as a possible nominee at San Francisco)

It had finally passed a very good law providing for the introduction of a budget system. The President on June 4 vetoed the budget measure because of one detail in which it was held that the powers of the President over appointments and removals were somewhat abridged. If there could have been a more useful coöperation between Congress and the President about measures of this kind, the country could have had its budgetary legislation. It would probably have been quite sufficient if the President had signed the bill and had at the same time sent a letter to the committee chairmen requesting the slight alteration regarding the removal of a certain budgetary official that Congress would readily have adopted as an amendment.

*Republican
Economy*

Mr. Mondell, as Republican floor leader, claimed for the Republican Congress a remarkable record of retrenchment and economy. He pointed out the fact that eight appropriation bills that had failed to secure final passage at the end of the Sixty-fifth (Democratic) Congress on March 4 of last year, had been passed by the new Republican Congress in its opening session with a scaling down that aggregated almost one billion dollars. He further claimed that the appropriation bills now passed for the coming fiscal year have been reduced by almost one and a half billion dollars, as compared with the estimates submitted to Congress by the (Democratic) executive departments. In the debate over the high cost of government, both parties will make the best use they can of figures that go quite beyond the grasp and understanding of the average citizen. Mr. Wilson criticizes the failure of Congress to improve the tax laws, but the Republicans claim that Democratic methods of administration are responsible for the terribly high cost of government, to meet which it is difficult to secure a satisfactory solution of the taxation problem. The country will not be able as a result of the work of the great campaign debating society to settle problems of public finance and fiscal policy in detail. It will only be able to decide which party upon the whole it would prefer to trust during the next four years with the heavy responsibilities of an economic kind that the business life of the country must meet as a consequence of the war. We shall need a wise and capable President and Cabinet on the one hand, and on the other a Congress



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HON. THOMAS R. MARSHALL, OF INDIANA, WHO IS IN THE EIGHTH YEAR OF HIS SERVICE AS VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

(Mr. Marshall's popularity is widespread and not confined to his own party. He is not an active candidate, but has been much mentioned as a possible head of the Democratic ticket this year)

enjoying good working relations with the Administration. Above all else, we ought as a result of this year's congressional and presidential campaign to secure a breaking of the deadlock that has been so disastrous to the country for more than a year past.

*The Candidates
at
San Francisco*

Soon after this number of the REVIEW is distributed the results of the Democratic Convention will be known to everybody. We are not taking the risk, therefore, of making prophecies. It is not disputed that Mr. McAdoo's prospects of nomination have almost wholly overshadowed those of any other candidate, and that he will be strongly in the lead on the first ballot. If the majority rule rather than the two-thirds rule were to govern the convention, it would be safe enough to make a confident prediction. The Attorney-General, Mr. Palmer, will doubtless stand very high in the opening ballots; and his good record places him among the foremost public men of our day.

We are publishing elsewhere a brief article upon Governor Cox, of Ohio, in his work for improved State administration. Somewhat vaguely in the background is the admirable figure of John W. Davis, of West Virginia, now Ambassador at London; while some of Mr. Hoover's friends who were disappointed at Chicago have been saying that in case of a deadlock the Democrats at San Francisco might adopt the flaming banner of their hero. But when the list is canvassed, the party is likely to find that the Hon. William G. McAdoo has the most points in his favor.

*America and
the
Needs of Europe*

The British and French press has commented variously, but upon the whole rather anxiously, on the Republicans at Chicago. The absorbing question, however, was that of obtaining full and consistent control of the American Government; and the opposition to the present administration was not due to the idea that President Wilson is more devoted to the maintenance of friendship with Great Britain and France than a Republican Administration would be. Ambassador Jusserand, who has gone to France for a vacation, can surely testify that America will be friendly to France, no matter which party wins. Meanwhile, the new British Ambassador, Sir Auckland Geddes, with his instinct for politics and his frank and open manners, is not only doing much on his part to promote good will, but is also learning much to reassure him as to American senti-

ment. There are practical ways by which, with no serious burden to ourselves, we could have been of immediate help to Europe in the present season. We are publishing, from the pen of Mr. Henry P. Davison, an outline of the method he has been advocating for a number of weeks for stimulating the revival of European industry by loans here and there to provide raw material or machinery, or whatever things are most needed. Mr. Eliot Wadsworth, out of ample experience and observation abroad, has, at our request, explained the economic paralysis that stretches from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Americans obviously cannot now deal with this situation until after November; but the need will be even more intense, and must not be ignored. Furthermore, that America will in due time be a member of the League of Nations is known by all public men, and that quite irrespective of this year's election.

*The Bolshevik
Trade
Propaganda*

Our readers will be interested in what Mr. Simonds writes for us this month on the German parliamentary elections, to which he rightly attributes great importance. There has been shifting of party groups, and it remains to be seen whether or not two strong coalition groups will be evolved. Whether Germany is to be Socialistic or Reactionary is not yet determined. Mr. Simonds also discusses the war between Bolshevik Russia and Poland, and he expresses what we are inclined to regard as a just sympathy for the claims of Poland to better frontiers than the Paris Conference had undertaken to establish. He proceeds to criticize the London negotiations between Mr. Lloyd George and the Bolshevik agents for resumption of trade relations. Mr. Simonds interprets the reasons why England wishes peace and commerce with the Bolsheviks, and why France opposes such a course. The American Federation of Labor, in its meeting in annual session at Montreal in the middle of June, took the strongest possible ground against any relations between the United States Government and the Bolshevik dictatorship in Russia. Our Secretary of State, Mr. Bainbridge Colby, sent an illuminating statement of the Russian situation to the Federation leaders in response to a request for information. The Federation, in many of its positions, is sound and wise, although it fails to appreciate the fact that most of those who would do away with railroad and coal strikes would at the same time fully provide for



THE GOOD SAMARITAN

From the *Daily Star* (Montreal)

[A story without words, the characters being Uncle Sam, John Bull, and starving Central Europe]



A GROUP OF DELEGATES FROM THE BRITISH WEST INDIES, TOURING CANADA IN THE INTEREST OF IMPROVED TRADE RELATIONS

recognizing all just claims on the part of workers. In respect to the Russian situation, and mainly also in respect to immigration policies, the American Federation of Labor expresses opinions worthy of full regard.

*West Indies
and
Canada*

Will Canada and the British West Indies form a political union? A movement in that direction is hinted at in this number of the REVIEW (page 69) by Sir Patrick T. McGrath, of Newfoundland. At any rate the conference that met on June 1 at Ottawa, in which the Canadian government and those of the British possessions in and near the Caribbean took part, discussed closer trade relations with each other, and the cementing of such bonds can hardly fail to result in improved political relationships. This may be looked upon as a natural development within the federation of self-governing peoples which constitutes the British Empire of to-day. Representatives of British West Indian trade interests were warmly welcomed in Canada last month. The picture at the top of this page shows a group of these visitors at Toronto.

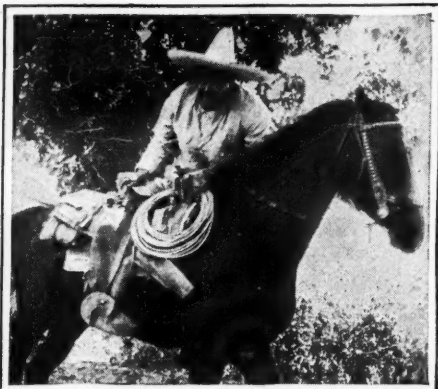
*The
Mexican
Overture*

When the June number of the REVIEW went to press, President Carranza, of Mexico, was in flight from the capital city; before the magazine had reached many of its readers the aged exile had been treacherously murdered by partisans of Gen. Rodolfo Herrera. Villa was driven back and the Obregon party obtained practically complete control over all of Mexico. On the first day of June Governor de la Huerta, of Sonora, took the

oath of office as provisional President, and within a few days it was announced that elections for Congress would be held on August 1 and for constitutional President on September 5. General Obregon, who remains the military dictator to all intents, has stated that the army will be materially reduced. He seems disposed to cultivate friendly relations with the United States, and has said that he would have the international line as free from armament as the American-Canadian boundary.

*Attitude
of the
United States*

The American public, on its part, is ready to take Obregon at his word, provided he gives evidence of a sincere desire to rid his country of the curse of militarism and begins to develop its resources in a sane and orderly way. The Spanish novelist, Blasco Ibañez, testifies that militarism has been even a greater evil in Mexico than it ever was in Germany. The United States would rejoice to see her neighbor to the south resume the arts of peace and profit by the rewards thereof. An intelligent, forward-looking administration of Mexican affairs from now on will have no stronger moral support from any quarter than from the American people and the Government at Washington, without distinction of party. The Senate subcommittee on Foreign Relations, headed by Senator Fall, has made a thorough investigation of our relations with Mexico. On May 31 it submitted a report recommending that the article in the Mexican constitution providing that subsoil products, meaning particularly oil, shall remain the property of the Mexican Government, shall not apply to



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FRANCISCO VILLA

(The elusive bandit chieftain in Mexico, who is variously reported as in forced flight into the mountains and as probable leader of a new police force to maintain order throughout the country)

Americans. Procedure under this article drew a protest from President Wilson in 1918. Confiscation of private property is threatened by this obnoxious provision of the constitution, and a modification of it would contribute to a better understanding between the two nations. The Republicans at Chicago, while demanding the protection of American rights and lives in Mexico, expressed the nation's good-will and friendly desire for the welfare of the Mexican people.

*The National
Mercantile
Marine Act*

The most important piece of constructive legislation enacted by Congress in its last session was the National Merchant Marine measure, passed just before adjournment after all-night sessions and a vast deal of conference work in reconciling the views of the Senate and the House. The bill provides for the disposition of the ships now owned by the nation and for the development of a great American Mercantile Marine. It effects the settlement of two aggressively opposing views as to the proper course of the Government with respect to the enormous tonnage of ships now owned by the nation. One plan, strongly urged by Mr. Hurley, would have sold the ships to private operators at once, the Government going out of the shipping business without delay. Such advisers felt that we were on the verge of a falling market so far as ships and pretty much everything else was concerned, and that a forced sale at figures anything near current quotations for ocean tonnage was better business for the Government than to take the chances of having to

dispose of these vessels later on when prices might be far below their present level. The vessels available for sale aggregate nearly 10,000,000 tons, and the question was a big one in dollars and cents. The opposing view was that any forced sale of the fleet would be disastrous as to prices realized for everyone but purchasers and speculators.

*Trying
to Avoid
Forced Sales*

The measure passed by Congress in June, while accepting fully the theory that the ships should be operated by private owners as soon as is consistent with a disposition of them on favorable terms of sale, guards carefully against any forced sale at all, or any hurry in the dispersal of the Government fleet. Or it would be more correct to say that the Shipping Board is carefully instructed to guard against forced-sale prices or any kind of sacrifice. For the act gives enormous power and responsibility to the Shipping Board, simply instructing it to go ahead within certain defined limits and eventually to get rid of the fleet by any means it would adopt if it were acting for the best interests of private stockholders. The Shipping Board is increased to seven members, each to receive compensation of \$12,000 a year, and the Emergency Fleet Corporation, the operating branch of the Board, has its life indefinitely prolonged—until the last ship has been sold to private owners.

*Details
of the
Act*

The ships are to be sold only to corporations in which a majority of the stock is held by American citizens, when engaged in overseas trade, and in the case of vessels disposed of for coastwise traffic the purchasing corporation must be owned to the extent of seventy-five per cent. of its stock by American citizens. Purchasers can pay for vessels in fifteen annual instalments, with rates of interest on the deferred payments fixed by the Board. A "revolving fund" of \$25,000,000, recruited from the funds received from sales or the operation of vessels, is set up for five years to enable the Board to establish shipping routes where it may deem necessary in case private capital refuses to embark in such lines, and to make loans to private owners attempting to carry out the Shipping Board's instructions as to the establishing of new routes. It is obvious that the success or failure of the measure will to a peculiar degree depend on the seven men who make up the Board. The nation virtually turns over to them these enormous

assets and tells them not to sacrifice any values and to make a success of the sale and operation of ships any way they can as long as purchasers and operators are American.

*Improvement
in the
Crop Outlook*

The rather dismal reports in May from the Department of Agriculture, due to bad crop weather and shortage of labor, were somewhat qualified for the better in the later estimates of June 8. The month of May brought an improvement of 19,000,000 bushels in the winter wheat crop and spring wheat promised 68,000,000 bushels more than last year. Even so, the June indications were for a total harvest this year of only 781,000,000 bushels, as against 941,000,000 bushels actually harvested last year. With the revised estimates, however, we can now look forward to a crop only five per cent. smaller than the five-year average from 1914 to 1918, which included three record-breaking harvests.

*The Strain
on
Credit*

At the conference in Washington last May of the bankers of the country with the Federal Reserve Board, there were emphatic warnings as to the growing strain on credit due to advancing prices and wages, curtailed production and expanding loans. Governor Harding, of the Board, estimated the expansion of banking credit properly attributable to the war at \$11,000,000,000, while money in circulation had increased \$1,900,000,000. Liberty bonds had fallen so far in current quotations that certain issues were selling on a basis of no less than 6.30 per cent. return. It was made clear that either credit must be reduced more rapidly than production is diminished, or production must be increased at a rate greater than the expansion of credit. Following these warnings came on May 29 a drastic vertical raise in the Federal Reserve Bank's discount rate. The New York institution established its discount rate at 7 per cent., the fourth consecutive increase since last November in the campaign to put the brakes on inflation. On all commercial papers, except bankers' acceptances, member banks of the Federal Reserve system must now pay 7 per cent., as against $5\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. last November, when the rate increases began. The rate on advances secured by Liberty bonds has been raised from 5 to 6 per cent. and those on United States treasury certificates from 5 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In some

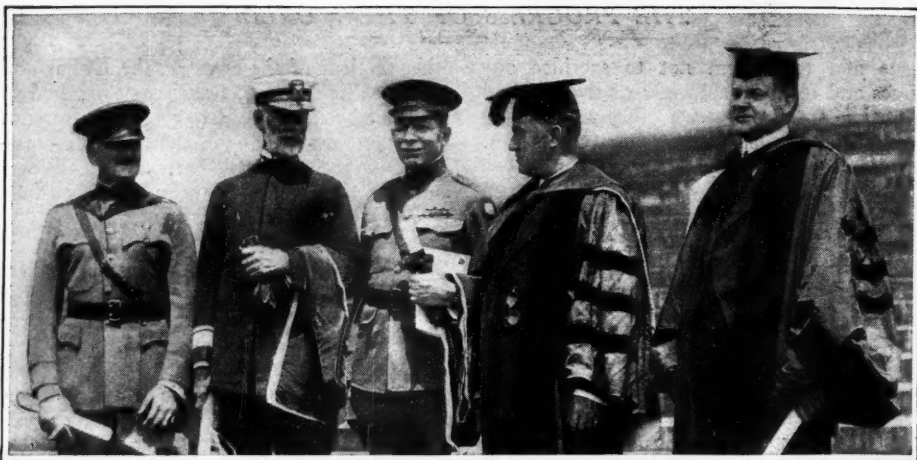
other sections of the country, the Dallas and Kansas City regions, a different method is being used to slow up the expansion of credit. Here there are varying discount rates increasing as any individual borrowing bank increases its discounts, thus penalizing those who borrow beyond a certain limit.

*What Are
the Railroads
Worth?*

Some interesting testimony was introduced in the rate hearings last month before the Interstate Commerce Commission as to the actual physical value of the railroads. It will be remembered that it is a basic premise of the advocates of the Plumb plan that the roads are probably really worth some \$8,000,000,000 less than the figures of their "property accounts" show. As the Esch-Cummins bill provides for rates to produce $5\frac{1}{2}$ or 6 per cent. on the actual fair value of the railroads, this question of a genuine appraisal of the properties becomes all-important at present and really the deciding question between the sufficiency or insufficiency of the rates prescribed in the legislation now to be tried. The Government has been engaged for seven years in working out the true physical value of the roads and has spent \$30,000,000 already in the task, but until the present rate hearing nothing has been heard of the results of this investigation sufficiently broad and representative to be of service.

*Some
Real
Evidence*

In the testimony presented to the Commerce Commission last month, however, an officer of the carriers' valuation committee made public the Government's determination of the value of fifty railroad systems, aggregating 51,853 miles, showing that their cost of reproduction even at 1914 prices would be \$3,203,782,543, while their property investment accounts showed \$3,158,275,156 carried on the books of the companies. On the basis of present prices of construction instead of those obtaining six years ago the current valuation of their properties would obviously be many billions greater. The spokesman for the carriers said that railway experts believe the completed valuation report will show the properties to be worth at least \$2,000,000,000 in excess of their capitalization and \$6,000,000,000 more than the present market value of their stocks and bonds. The aggregate railway investment claimed by the carriers in these hearings is \$20,616,000,000.



FIVE LEADERS IN THE WORLD WAR RECEIVE HONORS FROM COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

("In recognition of their great services in organizing America's effort," the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws is conferred upon these prominent men of America. They are, from left to right: General John J. Pershing, commander-in-chief, A. E. F.; Rear-Admiral William S. Sims, commander of American naval forces in European waters; Bishop Charles H. Brent, chief of the Chaplains' Service, A. E. F.; Henry P. Davison, chairman, War Council, American Red Cross, and Herbert Hoover, Food Administrator)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From May 17 to June 16, 1920)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

May 18.—The Senate receives a report stating that oil reserves are not expected to last twenty years, 40 per cent. of the fields being exhausted.

May 19.—The House, voting 209 to 106, refuses approval of State federalization of the National Guard, and in sending the Army bill back to conference requests no change of pre-war status of the Guard.

May 20.—The Senate adopts the Borah resolution for investigation of pre-convention campaign expenditures by presidential candidates.

May 21.—The House adopts the Knox peace resolution, 228 to 139, 19 Democrats voting with the Republican majority.

May 24.—In the Senate, testimony before an investigating committee reveals the expenditure of \$414,984 for Governor Lowden for the Republican presidential nomination.

May 25.—Senate committee testimony shows a \$62,185 fund for Mr. Hoover's campaign for the Republican nomination.

The Senate passes the annual Pension bill of \$279,000,000.

May 26.—The Senate learns that General Wood's campaign fund was nearly \$1,000,000. . . . The Senate reconsiders the Nolan-Johnson \$3 a day minimum bill for Government employees, on motion of Mr. Thomas (Dem., Colo.), and rescinds its passage.

May 27.—In the Senate, an investigating committee learns that Senator Harding's campaign fund was \$113,109; Governor Coolidge's \$68,375; and Dr. Butler's \$40,550.

The House passes a bill authorizing the Treas-

ury to make final settlement of \$1,000,000,000 back taxes.

May 28.—In the House, the Knox peace resolution fails, in a vote of 219 to 152, to obtain a two-thirds majority for passage over the President's veto. . . . The conference report on the Army Reorganization bill is approved, 236 to 106.

May 29.—In the Senate, the Armenian mandate comes up for debate. . . . The investigation of campaign expenditures shows a fund for General Wood of \$1,180,043; Senator Johnson's was more than \$200,000. . . . A pension bill for Spanish-American War veterans is passed, granting \$12 to \$30 a month for incapacitation.

In the House, the soldier bonus bill is passed, 289 to 92, with less than an hour's debate under suspension of rules.

May 31.—In the Senate, the sub-committee under Mr. Fall (Rep., N. M.) reports on its Mexican investigations, stating an American loss of over \$500,000,000 during the revolution, proposing financial aid for Mexico and a constitutional revision with the alternative of intervention, and suggesting the establishment of a Claims Commission for murders of Americans in Mexico.

The House, voting 233 to 58, passes a bill permitting agriculturists to combine for the sale of farm produce despite anti-trust laws, but limiting dividends to 8 per cent. a year.

June 1.—The Senate "respectfully declines" to give permission to the President to establish an American mandate over Armenia, voting 52 to 23 against the mandate.

June 2.—Conferees on the Merchant Marine bill report favorably to both Houses.

June 3.—The House votes 343 to 3 to repeal

all war laws except the Lever Act and the enemy trading act.

Both Houses pass the Postal bill, increasing aggregate pay of workers \$34,375,000 a year.

June 5.—In the Senate, the Pomerene resolution to continue campaign expenditure investigations is passed.

In the House, Mr. Mondell, of Wyoming (Republican floor leader), reviewing the work of the session, declares that Congress has saved \$2,374,460,917; it passed the Merchant Marine, Mineral Land Leasing, Water Power and Prohibition bills; the amended Budget and the Soldier Bonus bills fail in the Senate, and the President fails to sign the measure repealing his extraordinary war powers.

The first regular session of the Sixty-sixth Congress comes to an end.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

May 18.—Georgia Democrats, at the State Convention, repudiate Mr. Wilson's League.

The Federal Reserve Board confers with bankers, who agree to curtail "long standing, non-essential loans" and discourage unnecessary borrowing in order to reduce inflation.

May 20.—The Interstate Commerce Commission orders railroads to reroute freight to shorten the haul, make daily car deliveries to other lines, and send solid trains of empties to the West, to relieve freight congestion.

May 24.—President Wilson, in a message to Congress, requests permission to establish an American mandate over Armenia, citing the Senate resolution of sympathy.

May 25.—Governor Smith, of New York, signs a bill providing \$1,000,000 as that State's share of initial construction costs for an interstate vehicular tunnel under the Hudson River.

May 26.—A federal grand jury indicts the American Woolen Companies of Massachusetts and New York for excessive profits.

May 27.—President Wilson vetoes the Knox peace resolution adopted by Senate and House.

May 28.—President Wilson approves the Virginia Democratic platform and praises the planks on the League of Nations, finance, and reconstruction.

May 29.—President Wilson nominates Mrs. Annette Adams, of San Francisco, as assistant to the Attorney-General.

May 31.—President Wilson and Homer S. Cummings, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, confer on the latter's "keynote" speech at the San Francisco Convention on June 28.

June 1.—The Supreme Court decides the Ohio prohibition referendum case, holding that ratification by a State legislature of a federal constitutional amendment is final and not subject to referendum by the people. . . . The salaries of the President and of federal judges are exempted from the income tax by a decision of the court.

June 4.—President Wilson vetoes the budget bill, claiming it interferes in removal of appointees with the executive authority. . . . Mr. Wilson appoints William O. Thompson, of Columbus, Ohio, Neal J. Ferry, of McAdoo, Pa., and William L. O'Connell, of Scranton, Pa., as the Anthracite Coal Commission.

Frank L. Polk, Under Secretary of State, resigns, effective June 15, due to ill health, and will be succeeded by Norman Davis.

June 5.—Mr. Wilson charges Congress with failure, especially in economic measures, due to domination of political expediency.

June 7.—The Supreme Court decides that the Eighteenth (Prohibition) Amendment and the Volstead enforcement act are constitutional.

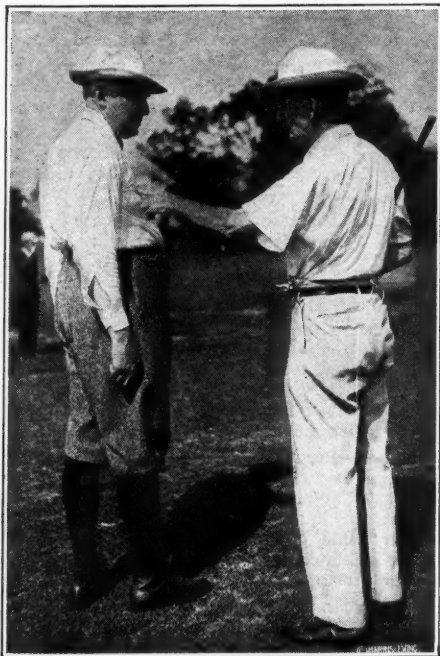
Galveston, Texas, is placed under martial law as a result of serious congestion from a long-shoremen's strike.

The Interstate Commerce Commission announces the immediate appropriation of \$125,-



A COMMENCEMENT-DAY GROUP AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, JUNE 15

(Standing, from left to right—Dean Andrew F. West, Rev. Dr. John Sprole Lyons, Paul Shorey, Edward Lounsbury Bradley, Thomas Griffith Haight, Albert William Atwood, Calvin Noyes Kendall. Sitting, from left to right—Mather Almon Abbott, Col. William Barclay Parsons, Sir Auckland C. Geddes, British Ambassador; President John Greer Hibben, Dr. Alexis Carrel, John Work Garrett)



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SENATOR HARDING IS A GOLF ENTHUSIAST

(He is photographed here with ex-Senator Bourne, of Oregon, on the links of a Washington club)

000,000 for the purchase of railway equipment and rolling stock.

In the Iowa primary, Senator Cummins (Rep.) is renominated by 25,000 plurality.

June 8.—Attorney-General Palmer, acting in the New York harbor strike, rules that the Adamson eight-hour-day law applies to all equipment used by railroads regardless of ownership.

The Republican National Convention opens at Chicago; Senator Lodge makes the keynote speech as temporary chairman.

The Louisiana Senate defeats ratification of the federal suffrage amendment, 22 to 19.

June 9.—The New York Supreme Court enjoins truckmen's unions and steamship companies from boycotting open shop companies.

Tennessee Democrats, in convention, condemn Senator Shields for opposing President Wilson's League of Nations, and instruct him to reverse his position.

Secretary Houston announces an issue of \$400,000,000 Treasury certificates at 5¾ and 6 per cent.; reduction of national debt one billion dollars to \$25,000,000,000; and reduction of floating debt from \$4,000,000,000 on August 31, 1919, to \$2,850,000,000.

June 10.—The Republican National Convention adopts a platform presented by its resolutions committee, read by Senator Watson (Indiana) as chairman.

June 11.—The indictment of the American Woolen Company for profiteering is quashed in the Federal District Court on the ground that

woolen cloth is not wearing apparel under the amendment to the Lever Act.

June 12.—Senator Warren G. Harding, of Marion, Ohio, is nominated on the tenth ballot as the Republican choice for President in the National Convention at Chicago; Governor Calvin Coolidge, of Massachusetts, is unanimously nominated for Vice-President.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

May 13.—Japanese parliamentary election returns show a victory for the Government Party, the Seiyu-kai, which wins 265 seats; the Opposition, Kensei-kai, hold 119, the Kokumin-to 29, and the Independents 39.

May 17.—In Ireland, more than 2000 British troops are landed to protect the police.

Pablo Gonzales withdraws from the Mexican presidential contest in the interest of harmony.

Admiral Sah Chen-Ping succeeds Premier Chin Yun-Peng of China.

May 21.—Premier Nitti forms a new cabinet in Italy, with Vittorio Scialoja as Foreign Minister; 20,000 Italian officers refuse to obey demobilization orders.

Premier Millerand, of France, receives a vote of confidence, 526 to 90, for his stand against the railroad strikers. The General Federation of Labor calls off the strikes.

Madrid is placed under martial law.

May 22.—Venustiano Carranza, fugitive president of Mexico, is shot while asleep near Tlaxpalan by troops in his escort.

May 23.—Heavy troop patrols are established in Ireland at Dublin and other points; crime and incendiarism continue.

General Rafael Montalvo is nominated for the Cuban presidency by the Conservatives.

In Spain, many thousands of women take part in demonstrations demanding a reduction of the high cost of living.

May 24.—In Mexico, General Obregon orders the arrest of Bonillas, Barragan, and others in connection with the death of President Carranza.

May 25.—The report of the commission appointed by Britain to investigate the Amritsar affair of April, 1919, in which a number of Indian natives were killed, is filed by Lord Hunter; the British majority and Indian minority agree that the shooting was necessary, but condemn General Dyer's handling of the affair.

A railroad strike of men in Ireland opposed to the shipment by England of troops and munitions succeeds in tying up traffic near Dublin.

May 26.—In Mexico, Gen. Rodolfo Herrera surrenders to General Cardenas, and is taken to the capital to tell how Carranza was killed.

The French Senate votes to tax bachelors.

The German Ministry of Transport announces the delivery of 5000 locomotives to the Entente under the treaty.

The Prince of Wales arrives at Melbourne from New Zealand.

The Japanese government sends 50,000,000 yen to Yokohama to stop a run on the banks.

May 28.—Premier Millerand receives his largest vote of confidence, 535 to 68, from the French Chamber of Deputies, endorsing his policy on German treaty enforcement and the Spa conference.

May 29.—The first elected Parliament of the Czechoslovak Republic, by vote of 284 to 61, chooses Thomas Carrique Masaryk President.

May 30.—The British Cabinet consults Lord French, Sir Hamar Greenwood, and General Sir Nevill Macready regarding Home Rule and the new crisis in Ireland.

June 1.—The Mexican Provisional President, Adolfo de la Huerta, is inducted into office.

June 2.—Dr. Manuel Gondra (formerly Minister to the United States) is elected President of Paraguay.

June 3.—The British House of Commons debates the Irish Home Rule bill.

June 6.—German elections give Majority Socialists 110 seats in the Reichstag; Independent Socialists, 80; Centrists, 67; Nationalists, 65; People's Party, 61; and Democrats, 45; in a total vote of 25,100,576.

The Mexican Provisional President announces that elections for Congress will be held August 1, and for President September 5.

June 9.—Premier Nitti and his Italian Cabinet resign, failing support on annulment of bread price restrictions; Signor Orlando resigns as president of the Chamber.

June 10.—Premier Smeden, of Hungary, resigns with his cabinet.

June 11.—The Austrian Cabinet, under Dr. Karl Renner, resigns.

June 14.—A new Australian Governor-General, Baron Henry William Forster, is appointed to succeed Sir Ronald C. Munro-Ferguson.

June 15.—General Wrangel's South-Russian army captures 4000 Bolsheviks and 40 guns in a well-equipped offensive from the Crimea.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

May 18.—France withdraws her troops from cities in the Ruhr Valley, Germany having fulfilled the Allied terms.

Bolshevik troops cross the Persian frontier at Astara and force withdrawal of British troops.

Raymond Poincaré resigns from the Reparations Commission; the Hythe Conference is reported to have agreed that Germany shall pay an indemnity of \$60,000,000,000 in thirty years.

May 21.—A new Siberian buffer state, Verkhnie Udinsk, is formed from territories east of Lake Baikal under M. Krasnosholkoff.

The Persian Foreign Minister protests to the League of Nations against Bolshevik invasion.

May 22.—President Wilson accepts the Allied invitation to fix the boundaries of Armenia.

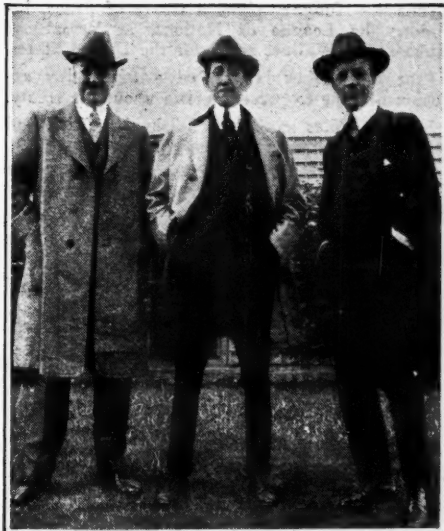
Martial law is declared in the Teschen plebiscite area by the Interallied Commission because of riots between Poles and Czechoslovaks.

May 23.—Bolsheviks in Persia capture the Denikine fleet of cruisers and transports.

Poles hold a ninety-mile front against attacks by reinforced Bolsheviks, who seek to open communication with East Prussia.

May 25.—The salmon fisheries treaty between the United States and Canada is signed.

The Dutch Government announces suspension of treaty negotiations with Belgium, due to differences over sovereignty of the Wielingen Passage, Belgium desiring it for the protection of Zeebrugge.



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A REPUBLICAN CONVENTION SNAPSHOT

(Mr. Frederic Upham, treasurer of the National Committee; Mr. Will H. Hays, Chairman, and Col. Theodore Roosevelt)

May 26.—Germany begins restoration of Louvain at a cost of 5,000,000 francs gold; France and Belgium each receive from Germany nearly 8,000,000,000 marks in cash and securities, and large quantities of art works and documents.

The new British Ambassador Sir Auckland Geddes is received by President Wilson with Ambassador Alencar of Brazil. . . . Viscount Sutemi Chinda, Japanese Ambassador to Great Britain, is succeeded by Baron Gonsuke Hayashi.

May 27.—Gregory Krassin, head of the Bolshevik Commercial Commission, arrives at London and joins representatives of Russian co-operatives for a trade conference with the Allies.

May 29.—Greek troops begin the occupation of Bulgarian Thrace, without incident.

May 31.—Canadians and West Indians enter into conference at Ottawa for closer trade and political relations.

June 1.—At Paris, American Ambassador Wallace signs the Inter-Allied Aerial Navigation Convention with reservations protecting American sovereignty and customs duties; this treaty must receive ratification by the Senate.

Pope Benedict, in an encyclical on "Christian Reconciliation," rescinds the veto of Pius IX on official visits of Catholic sovereigns to the King at Rome.

June 3.—On the Polish front, the Bolsheviks succeed in flanking and driving back General Pilsudski's troops.

New credits for Central European countries are arranged as follows, mainly as raw materials and food: Denmark, 12,000,000 kroner; Norway, 17,000,000 kroner; Sweden, 10,000,000 kroner; Britain £10,000,000; Holland, 12,500,000 florins; Switzerland, 15,000,000 francs.

June 4.—Hungary signs a treaty of peace, including the League of Nations, at Versailles; Ambassador Wallace signs for the United States.

June 6.—Turkey is granted a fifteen-day extension of time to present views about the treaty.

June 9.—Poles annihilate Bolshevik Third and Twelfth Divisions and occupy Czarnica.

June 10.—Intrigue puts 15,000 Albanians on the war path against Italian troops of occupation, who withdraw in many places.

June 13.—The International Suffrage Alliance Congress at Geneva closes.

June 14.—Kiev, in the Ukraine, is evacuated by the Poles in the face of a heavy cavalry attack; the Bolsheviks concentrate thirty divisions of reinforcements at this front.

The Mexican Provisional Government recovers 3,733,604 pesos gold and 1,000,935 pesos silver from the late President's train; this with other funds turns a deficit into a surplus.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

May 17.—In Omaha, Neb., all stores reduce prices on wearing apparel from 20 to 50 per cent.

The Interchurch World Movement decides to reduce expenditures from \$1,000,000 a month to \$150,000, and to raise a fund of \$10,000,000 by July 15.

May 21.—April exports show a \$135,000,000 decrease, and imports fall off \$30,000,000; gold imports reach \$50,000,000, exports \$44,000,000, silver exports \$17,000,000, imports \$11,000,000.

May 23.—The Russell Sage Foundation places Montana first in public school efficiency in a report by Dr. Leonard P. Ayres.

May 24.—Reports show increased freight movement and a reduction of cars on sidings from 269,000 to 170,000.

May 25.—The truckmen's strike in New York City, involving a boycott of non-union docks and open-shop factories, brings 3000 merchants into a \$500,000 organization to fight by organizing their own trucking system.

May 27.—M. Paul Painlevé, of France, arrives at New York on his way to China with a scientific and technical mission.

May 28.—Gov. Henry J. Allen, of Kansas, and Mr. Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, debate the Kansas Industrial Relations law in New York at Carnegie Hall.

New England shoe, woolen, and cotton mills cut down production, close, or go on part time, putting 20,000 men out of work.

May 29.—The Shipping Board charts thirteen former German passenger ships to the United States Mail Steamship Company, 100 per cent. American owned.

New York receives 5000 immigrants; 8275 were landed the previous week.

May 30.—Two large Canadian paper mill companies merge \$60,000,000 of property at Ottawa, to produce 650,000 tons of paper.

May 31.—Hundreds of thousands of World War veterans join in Memorial Day parades for the first time, with veterans of the Civil and Spanish American wars.

June 3.—The U. S. S. *Tennessee*, the largest superdreadnought, is commissioned at the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

June 5.—New York City, according to census figures announced, gained 804,268 in ten years, with present population 5,621,151.

June 6.—The General Education Board distributes for Mr. Rockefeller \$20,261,900 to medical schools and other educational institutions.

June 8.—Bar silver prices drop in New York and London to a new low level of 48½ d. and 84 cents, with a 10½-cent fall during the day.

June 9.—Los Angeles, with a population of 575,480, outranks San Francisco, and becomes the largest city west of St. Louis.

June 12.—Census reports show 58 cities out of 1100 double their size in 1910; of these 33 are in the North, 17 in the South, and 8 in the West; Akron, Ohio, gains over 200 per cent, attaining 208,435; Chicago retains its place as second largest city with 2,701,212.

OBITUARY

May 19.—Rev. Charles Stewart Davison, missionary to Japan, 43.

May 20.—Brig.-Gen. John M. K. Davis, retired, 76. . . . Edgar Dean Crumacker, ex-Representative from Tenth Indiana District, 67.

May 21.—Brig.-Gen. Frank Taylor, U. S. A., retired, 78.

May 26.—Frederic Beach Jennings, counsel for the Associated Press, 66.

May 27.—James T. DuBois, ex-Minister to Colombia and Consul-General to Switzerland, 69.

May 28.—Chaplain Donald McLaren, U. S. N., retired, 86. . . . Rev. Dr. Edwin Pond Parker, of Hartford, Conn., hymn writer, 85.

May 29.—A. Francis du Pont, of Montreal, 33. . . . Edmund Gybbon Spilsbury, famous mining and metallurgical engineer, 75.

May 30.—Col. Alexander S. Bacon, lawyer, writer, and lecturer, 66. . . . Dr. George Morrison, Australian physician, journalist, and political adviser to the President of China, 58.

June 3.—Rev. Dr. Charles Augustus Stoddard, author and theologian, 87. . . . Clifton Crawford, comedian, 45. . . . Francis Marion Burdick, Columbia law professor, 75.

June 4.—William P. Spurgeon, of the *Washington Post*, 54.

June 5.—Rear-Admiral Albert Gustavus Winterhalter, U. S. N., 64. . . . Charles Ethan Billings, inventor; merchant, 83. . . . Frank Moss, of New York, famous lawyer and reformer, 60.

June 9.—Francis Hendricks, ex-State Senator and Republican leader of central New York, 86.

June 11.—Sir Ezekiel McLeod, former chief justice of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, Canada, 79.

June 13.—Mme. Gabrielle Charlotte Réjane, famous French actress and comedienne, 63.

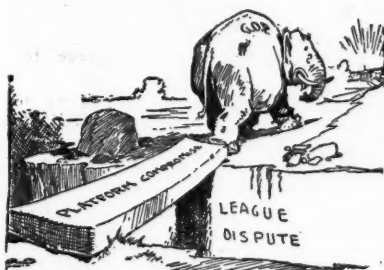
June 14.—Rev. Dr. William Williamson Page, last surviving member of General Robert E. Lee's staff, 80.

June 15.—David Ferguson, famous journalist and veteran reporter, 54.

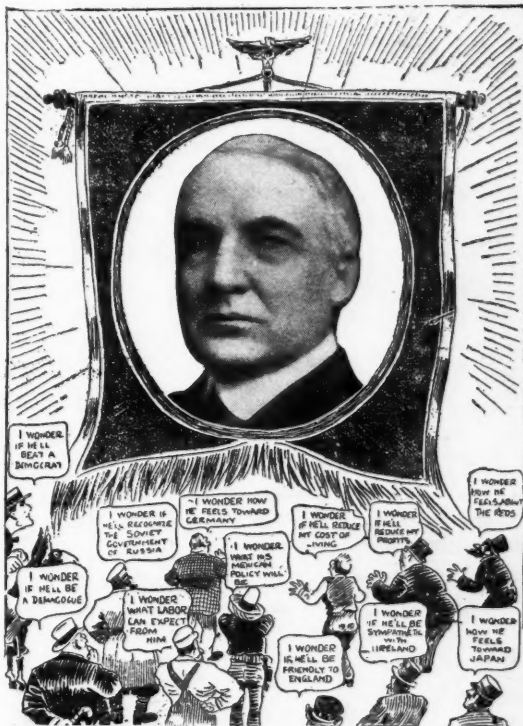
CONVENTION CARTOONS



THE SAFETY!
From the *Evening World* © (New York)



ACROSS—From the *News* (Chicago, Ill.)



THE REPUBLICAN NOMINEE
By McCutcheon, in the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)



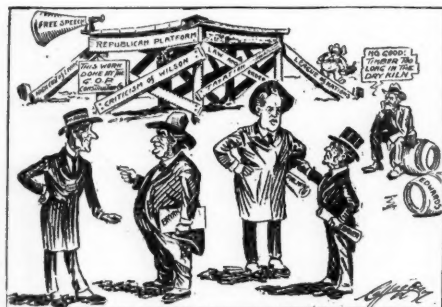
"IT'S A BOY!"
From the *Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)



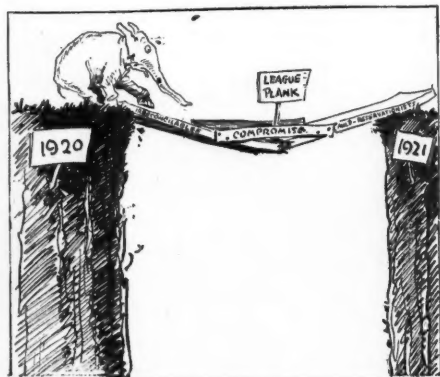
HAVING WON THE BEAUTIFUL MAIDEN, HARDING DEPARTS FROM THE CASTLE
From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, Ohio)



THE HIGH COST OF CAMPAIGNING
From the Plain Dealer (Cleveland, Ohio)



PERHAPS THEY WILL DO A BETTER JOB AT
SAN FRANCISCO
From the News (Grand Rapids, Mich.)



WILL IT HOLD?
From the Star (St. Louis, Mo.)



MAKING PASTURE FOR THE DARK HORSE
From the Evening World © (New York)



SHE TOOK SOME TIME TO DECIDE, FOR SHE LIKED
THEM ALL!—From the News (Chicago, Ill.)



NEVER TOUCHED HIM
From the Star (St. Louis, Mo.)



AFTER ALL, THERE IS ONLY ONE BIG SHOW, AND SAN FRANCISCO WILL NOT RIVAL CHICAGO
From the Chronicle (San Francisco, Cal.)



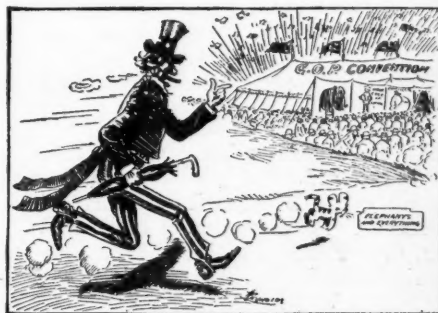
HELP! HELP! HEARST IS GOING TO BOLT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY—From the Tribune (New York)



THE POT CALLS THE KETTLE BLACK!
From the Eagle (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



HIS EYE ON THEM
From Newspaper Enterprise Assn. (Cleveland, Ohio)



HOW UNCLE SAM LOVES A POLITICAL CIRCUS
From the Daily Ledger (Tacoma, Wash.)



THE DEMOCRATIC DONKEY IS ALL CHEERED UP
From the World (New York)



NOT MUCH CHANCE FOR HARMONY—From the *Oregonian* (Portland, Ore.)

WITH the Republican convention over, the attention of the country was turned to the Democratic gathering at San Francisco. The dominance of President Wilson, the emergence of Mr. McAdoo as the leading candidate, and the influence of Mr.

Bryan upon policies to be adopted—these furnished the principal phases of recent discussion within and without the Democratic party. It seemed likely the convention at San Francisco might be as interesting in its results as that at Chicago.



NOT FISHIN' MUCH. JUST KILLING TIME
From the *Daily Ledger* (Tacoma, Wash.)



LOOKS LIKE A RIGHT STURDY LITTLE PLANT
From the *Sun* (Baltimore, Md.)



BUT CAN HE MAKE HIM DRINK?
From the Bee (Omaha, Nebraska)



UP AGAINST IT!
From the Knickerbocker Press (Albany, N. Y.)



STILL WAITING FOR A LOOK
From the Plain Dealer (Cleveland, Ohio)



THE COMING TOTAL ECLIPSE
From the Telegram (Portland, Oregon)



AND THEN HE PULLED THE TRIGGER—From Newspaper Enterprise Association (Cleveland, Ohio)





BEER, BOOZE, OR BUST!
[Governor Edwards, of New Jersey, known as candidate of the "wets"]
From the Jersey Journal (Jersey City, N. J.)



THE DEMOCRATIC ENTRY AND HIS JOCKEY
From the Star (St. Louis, Mo.)



YEP,—BRYAN'S GOING TO SAN FRANCISCO
From the Record (Boston, Mass.)



THE BOY STOOD ON THE BURNING DECK,
WHENCE ALL BUT HIM HAD FLED.
From the News (Grand Rapids, Mich.)



GEE WHIZ! DOES WILLIAM GET ALL THE BEDCLOTHES?—From the Oregonian (Portland, Ore.)

THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE

BY HON. SIMEON D. FESS

(Member of Congress, Seventh Ohio District)

[The article presented herewith was written by Mr. Fess, at our request, after his return to Ohio at the end of the Convention, where he was active and prominent as one of Senator Harding's supporters.—THE EDITOR]

SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING, the Republican standard-bearer for President, represents the best traditions and aspirations in American life. His present position is due to no one outstanding event of his career, but rather to an almost unbroken series of progressive events leading to a final goal. The eldest son of a typical American family of sturdy colonial qualities, he experienced the hardships of the pioneer and was thus disciplined in the school of necessity. Unspoiled by the ease of luxury, he learned to value the worth of self-helpfulness. His youth was spent in a rural community, the open door for healthy emulation in the varied interests, where neighborhood rivalries offer the discipline for leadership. His is the typical American career.

School Days

A barefoot boy, playing the part assigned to the eldest in a family of recognized standing in a community, he early learned the lessons of industry and application. A youth in the public schools he aspired to a higher education, which at that time pointed him out as somewhat separate and apart from the neighborhood. As a student in a small unclassified college he was offered and accepted the leadership of his set in various college activities, such as the position of editor of the college paper, where he started his training for the ownership and editorship of one of the best newspapers in a small city in the country. Recently, in conversation with Dr. Amos R. Wells, editor of the *Christian Endeavor World*, he remarked, "If I have any facility for the work I am now doing, I owe it most to my training as editor of the college paper while a student in college." So it might be said of Senator Harding's success in this field.

His passion for achievement led him to many community interests, in most of which he excelled, such as the proverbial literary society and village band.

His school experience was that of the average country boy, where the winters only were spent in school, while the summers were passed at work on the farm. His sympathy for the toiler on farm and in factory is experimental rather than professional. He knows from experience farm life, having done all the work of the pioneer, clearing the forest, splitting the rails, "laying the worm" for the fences which he helped to build; attending the stock, and cultivating and harvesting the crops. This growing lad varied his labors by working at odd jobs, such as a hand laborer in helping to build the Toledo & Ohio Central Railroad that ran through his neighborhood; doing day's work where employment could be had, until he took up the work of the printing office.

One of the first steps for the talent of America's promising youth was then, as now, school teaching; and this young Harding took up. It has been said that it takes greater talent to succeed in the unorganized country school than it does to govern a State. In this field, although his service was brief, he displayed successful leadership.

As Newspaper Proprietor

The American passion to become independent and self-reliant, or, in the language of the day, "one's own boss," soon led him to enter newspaper business, first as an employee, then as a responsible owner. His early experience in the newspaper business reminds us of the famous mountain climber, who, finding that his too late start prevented reaching the top before dark, prevailed on his companions to return for an earlier start in the morning to avoid the necessity of having to associate failure with the initial effort.

As the newspaper accounts of Senator Harding's career have fully explained, his newspaper, the *Marion Daily Star*, has attained remarkable success and more than local influence. Relating the rise and

growth of this publication under Mr. Harding's direction, an authorized account of his life says:

The *Star* was a struggling daily paper, diminutive in size, in a struggling county-seat town of four thousand inhabitants. Young Harding yearned to possess it. Though it had had such a precarious existence that it was difficult to tell whether it were an asset or a liability, his father, having faith in the boy and wishing to gratify this supreme desire of his young ambition, lent his credit in assisting him in taking it over—the consideration being only the assumption of its indebtedness. The county was then Democratic, and this paper not even the official organ of the minority party.

With the enthusiasm of youth, and the inspiration of one who has his foot upon the first rung of the ladder of his ambition, the young man bent his energies to the task of making the *Star* a beacon light which should shine out of the darkness, and to lift it out of the depths of all but bankruptcy and give it a financial standing above reproach.

The *Star* to-day is a prosperous, money-making plant. It could not be purchased at any price. It has the widest circulation of any newspaper in a city of 30,000 inhabitants in the Middle West. It is quoted more often than any other paper outside the great cities. It has not only grown with the development of the city, but has kept in advance. It has been always a "booster" and never a "knocker"; but in all of Mr. Harding's political career not a line has ever appeared in the *Star* boosting his own candidacy. Always conservative, always fearless, it has fought for high ideals and won its way to a place of prestige and power; and the guiding spirit is, and was, Senator Harding.

Destined for Public Life

Harding's talents, his tastes, his family and community associations, together with his location and the time of his growth, all combined to fit him for public life. He entered upon his public career as member of the upper chamber of the Ohio Legislature, to which he was reelected. This quite natu-



THE BIRTHPLACE OF SENATOR HARDING, NEAR BLOOMING GROVE, MORROW COUNTY, OHIO

rally led to the presidency of that body as the Lieutenant-Governor of the State. During these years his influence was extended to a wider constituency through his editorial work. His opinions were widely copied. Politically he was rapidly coming into recognition in a State where the leadership was in the hands of such men as McKinley, Hanna, and Foraker.

In 1910, owing to the outcropping of a nation-wide disaffection among Republicans, he met his first defeat, when he failed of election for Governor. This disappointment was not the loss of an office, but the failure of the election of a growingly popular leader.

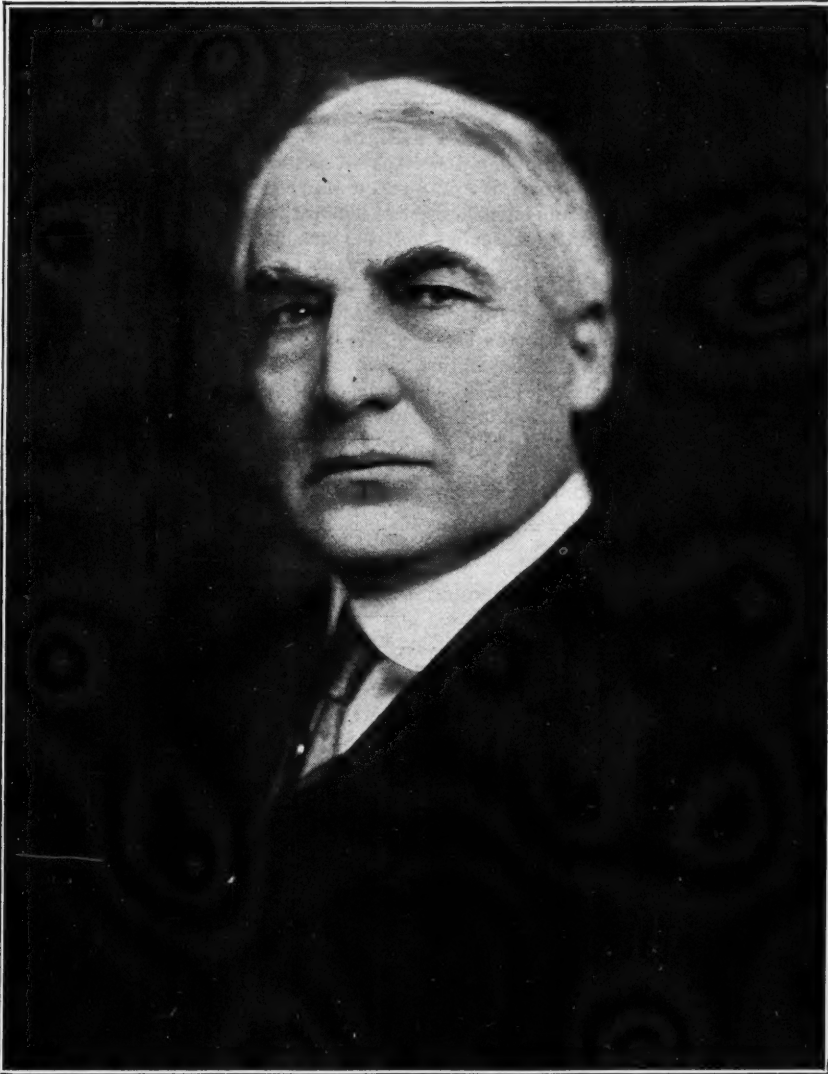
In spite of his public decision to leave politics, two years later found him in the thickest of the fight for another Ohioan for President in a bitter campaign in which the unfortunate division of the party that year opened the way for Democratic success at the polls. Still two years later, in 1914, he became a contestant for the Senate and was nominated, defeating his former chief, Senator Foraker, in the first primary held for United States Senator in Ohio. To this position he was elected by over 100,000 majority.

A Loyal Party Man

Senator Harding stands out as a strong party man. He is a partisan Republican. He was born at the close of the Civil War and was cradled in the atmosphere which readily consecrated the birth and purpose of the Republican party, which became a passion to this youth, and to which through all the years he has given an unbroken fealty. His was the nature to be stirred by the stories of Lincoln and the war, and by such men as Blaine, for whom he was shouting before he was sixteen, and McKinley, Foraker, and Roosevelt.

His loyalty to Taft for reelection in 1912 in the unfortunate division was misinterpreted by some critics as disloyalty to Roosevelt, and by the same critics as reactionism in policies. He declined, as hundreds of thousands of admirers of Roosevelt did, to join a third-party movement, not as disloyal to Roosevelt but as loyal to Taft and to his party. He had been one of the most consistent supporters of Roosevelt's progressive programs while President, and ventured criticism only in defense of Taft four years later.

In the Senate he has demonstrated his adherence to progressive legislation by hav-



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HON. WARREN CAMALIEL HARDING

ing supported every progressive measure before that body since his entrance, where he has had abundant opportunity. On questions of reform he has stood well to the front. Not only did he support woman suffrage, but to my personal knowledge assisted in ratification in some States, and especially urged it upon Delaware.

Remedial legislation on behalf of labor has found an advocate in Harding. He supported among other measures the child labor law, the minimum wage law, the civil service retirement law, the rehabilitation of

the industrial cripple law, the woman's bureau in the Labor Department, and enjoys the warmest friendship of the progressive element among his Republican colleagues, who are among the first to assure him of their undivided support in the coming contest.

His Hamiltonian Attitude Toward Government

Senator Harding's leading political trait is his regard for our system of representative government as developed under the Consti-

tution, and its maintenance through due respect for law. He looks with as much concern upon the tendencies toward anti-government as did Colonel Roosevelt, and if elected will be equally determined to secure due respect for the law as the chief guarantee of the protection of human rights under the law. Not the law itself, so much as the respect for its authority. If objectionable, enforcement is the best guarantee of desirable modification or repeal.

Harding makes a sharp distinction between constitutional sanction and statutory enactment. He is not responsive to the theory that constitutions should be as easily changed as laws can be enacted. The former, he declares, should be stable, while the latter may change from day to day.

He also believes that too much is expected from legal enactments. The country suffers from too many rather than too few laws. He has small patience with the promise of superseding the laws of nature by the laws of a legislature, whether in the world of production and consumption or especially of business prosperity. The recent tendency to look to legislation as a cure-all invites the demand for remedies by law; and when these are not forthcoming, attacks upon the Government for failure of duty are inevitable. Hence the typical anti-government propaganda emanating from many sources of unrest, which embody themselves in various associations, political and social.

Harding's political theories are Hamiltonian, both from study in political science and experience in the operations of government. He religiously believes in the "checks and balances" of the Constitution. He looks upon that instrument as did the fathers, as the "palladium of our liberties." The coördination of the three departments is fundamental with him. He is totally incapacitated to assume as a proper function of the executive any interference with the constitutional functions of either the legislative or the judicial.

Not ultra-Conservative

Government with him is not only a theory but a practicality. His studies emphasize the separation and independence of the coördinate departments of our Government as the feature that most sharply differentiates this from all other governments; and his public service enables him to view each from the angle of the other two. This explains his abiding faith in the courts, and

his demand for their independence from other departments, in order that freedom of decision may be assured untrammelled by outside influence. However, this independent position does not and should not forestall legitimate criticism.

This attitude toward our fundamental institutions, and especially our organic law, has led to the charge of some publicists that Mr. Harding is too conservative. It will be readily conceded by those who know him that his is not the extreme type. He is neither so conservative that he cannot start, nor is he so progressive that he cannot stop. His record in the Senate is the last word in evidence of his attitude toward progressive measures, every one of which he has warmly supported.

A Public Man of the McKinley Type

He belongs to the McKinley type of statesman in his attitude toward men and measures. Notwithstanding his admiration for and close relation to McKinley, he was not in the onset a partisan of Senator Hanna, since he was one of Senator Foraker's lieutenants when that militant Republican leader had such commanding grip upon the young men of the party. Harding does not belong to the "hammer-and-tongs" class of public men. He reaches his conclusions in deliberation rather than by intuition. Quick decision is sometimes sacrificed in the interest of correct judgment. Such process avoids frequent blunders but does not prevent criticism. The impulsive leader is usually admired for the mistakes he makes upon the ground that he meant well. The rational leader is apt to be criticised, if not condemned, because of his caution, and is tardily forgiven for his mistakes. Blaine and Roosevelt belonged to the impulsive type of leadership, while Lincoln and McKinley belonged to the more cautious and conservative.

A Leader Who Welcomes Counsel

The Republican nominee is sensitive to the good opinion of the public. While self-approbateness is a marked element in his composition, his caution is not from fear of loss of favor, but rather from his abiding desire to be always found on the right side of public questions, and approved by the believers in justice and the "square deal." Critics see in this attribute a lack of aggressiveness. But it is quite similar to the attitude of Lincoln and McKinley.

Like those two leaders, Harding wel-

comes counsel. Like them, however, he makes his own decisions after consultation. Before and during the convention that named him as the Republican standard-bearer he was advised and urged to do certain things to which he earnestly listened, but which he declined to do. One of his distinguishing characteristics is his welcome of counsel of men who can assist him. He is not afraid of embarrassment by the advice of men of ability. Should it be his honor to form a Cabinet, he will surround himself with the ablest men available for the work to be assigned, as did Lincoln, McKinley, and Roosevelt.

A Strong Believer in Party Organization

Harding has no patience with the man who rails at political parties as inherently evil. He believes in party government as essential in a democracy. He also believes in both the necessity and the efficacy of political organization as the only way by which public opinion can find expression in sound legislations, especially so in a country where the people are sovereign. Because he is a strong party man he concedes the value of an opposition party. He believes in holding the party in power strictly responsible for the conduct of national affairs, and for that reason commends the importance of a strong minority, whereby the people can correct at the polls at periodic times through such minority the errors due to the policy of the majority.

Like McKinley, he will not seek an election as a non-partisan; but unlike Wilson, if elected he will be President of all the people rather than the chief of a political party. He has no apology to offer for the existence of responsible party organization, and has little patience with those who are continually complaining about too much politics. On the other hand, he is an advocate of the doctrine that only when no interest is shown in politics will the public service suffer, and the public weal be disregarded and allowed to go by default.

Record in the Senate on Foreign Policy

Although Harding's political activities had been identified with the State rather than the nation, save as he had figured as a leader in the councils of the party and in National and State conventions, he entered the Senate well equipped to deal with the serious problems involved in the war. He was not pleased with the conduct of our

foreign affairs, especially in the humiliating "watchful waiting" policy in Mexico, and in the note-writing habit of President Wilson, who, for two and a half years, counseled against becoming "nervous" when preparedness was demanded, during which time our national honor was contemptuously assaulted, and at last our national life was threatened, as evidenced by the famous Zimmermann note of January 19, 1917.

Early Advocate of Preparedness

Harding was one of the strongest advocates of a program of preparedness for the protection of American honor and the safety of our national life. When the President, in his near-fatal phrase-making ability, notified the world that America had entered the war to make the world "safe for democracy," rather than in defense of her honor and her life, Senator Harding was among the first to indicate that America should not deem herself called upon to reorganize the old world or to set up any particular kind of government in Europe. That job was for the people of Europe in their self-determination. Recent events in Europe disclosing the attitude of certain countries toward us for supposed interference with their plans are sufficient comment upon his position.

He had been among the first to see the certainty of war, and was alive to the needs of the hour. To bring the country to a sense of danger from a foe three thousand miles away was the first task, and no small one. He seized the earliest opportunity to press the claims of Colonel Roosevelt to head a division in Europe, and introduced and secured the passage of an amendment to the military bill to that effect.

This was not alone because of his desire to please the great American who wanted to go; but the Senator knew that no other single event would so arouse all America to the real situation, and the need of preparation to meet it. I have heard him express his regret that the Administration not only declined to allow Roosevelt to participate personally in this crisis of the nation, but also saw fit to discriminate against the Colonel's friend, the distinguished General Leonard Wood, who apparently gave offense to the President because he was the first man to call attention of the country to our state of unpreparedness at the time when war seemed inevitable, and the President counseled calmness, declaring that he would not

change his position "even if there are those among us who become nervous."

Some members of Congress, and Harding was included in the list, were deeply concerned over the problems to result from war. When the armistice came it found us less prepared for peace than we had been for war. The probable complications to arise at the peace table in Europe were apparent. Harding's warning had already been sounded on the Senate floor. The President was to be pitted against Europe's greatest and most astute statesmen, intent upon securing the best possible advantage to atone for the awful suffering. America's representative was to be submerged in this atmosphere surcharged with the great crisis, and under the pressure of appalling events backed by the most powerful advocates living.

Favors a World Court

The well-known predilection of President Wilson toward the League of Nations idea, his open avowal of it as the one and only demand he should make of Europe, immediately compelled the closest scrutiny of the proposal. When the League Constitution was made public February 14, 1919, Harding, on the Foreign Relations Committee, was among the first to see the dangers to our sovereignty and independence, if accepted as proposed. He at once demanded such changes as to safeguard the nation. He condemned the League as reported; he demanded the continued normal development of international law as the basis of control of international relations which permitted arbitration of justiciable questions, by continuing a policy formulated by Washington, Jefferson, and Monroe, and further developed by Lincoln and every Republican and Democratic President since the Civil War, to and including Taft.

Harding looked with favor upon the establishment of some world court to adjust justiciable questions by judicial process, which could lead to disarmament in due time. Non-justiciable questions could be met by conciliation by the nations, through association when the questions arise.

The imminent complications to arise from the League as proposed by the President alarmed many leaders both inside and outside of public life. Harding felt the danger keenly. He was one of the first to request that the Treaty and the League be considered separately, to avoid continuing a state

of war until a widely disputed question could be agreed upon. And he was greatly distressed over the President's threat, upon his second sailing to France, that he would bring the Treaty back with the League so intertwined that the rejection of the League would compel the rejection of the Treaty.

The Chicago platform fits his ideas on the League issue as well as if he had written the plank, and he will be the legitimate standard bearer to lead the country in the contest in which American sovereignty and independence will be safeguarded, whatever be the final form the Treaty and League shall take.

Why He Was Nominated

His nomination was the climax of a conjunction of forces both political and personal. His strong position for law and order; his defense of national honor; his struggle as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee to safeguard national sovereignty and independence; his sound philosophy of economics and finance; his sturdy insistence upon the integrity of American initiative in business enterprise for the investment of capital in the employment of labor at a scale of wage to maintain the American standard of living; his determination to maintain equal opportunity under the law upon the basis of the square deal, with due regard for the rights of all; his consistent advocacy of the extension of American trade through the establishment of a merchant marine under the American flag to carry our foreign commerce; his varied experience which has given him the sympathetic touch with all classes of our population; his fearless demand that the public interest must first be subserved, together with his sturdy yet mild-mannered personality which universally commands favor—all combined make him the logical nominee of his party at this hour of commanding need.

Elements of Popularity

The progress of the Chicago convention from start to finish epitomized this leader's political growth. Starting with no advantage of organization, and even with a slight defection in certain quarters in his home State (not to be regarded seriously save as a handicap in a convention), his assets were hosts of friends and no enemies among the delegates, who hoped the time would come when they could get back of him.

The first day's balloting gave little promise to the great crowd for the Ohio candidate, although he maintained his position as fifth in the number of votes cast. While he failed the first day to increase his vote, the day ended with the thought of much of the convention centered upon him. The first ballot on the second day, which was the fifth day of the convention, showed slight changes in the votes of the four leading him. But Harding's vote showed an increase of nearly twenty.

The next ballot put him in fourth place. The next, the seventh ballot, he took third place. When the convention adjourned for consultation after the eighth ballot he was still third, but was already scheduled as the winner, which place he took immediately upon reconvening.

The enthusiasm, both of the delegates and of the great audience, was perfectly normal. Harding was and had been the logical candidate of the whole convention. Quite naturally, friends of other candidates, whose interest had been stirred into white heat, were disappointed—but *less so than if any other man had been chosen*. Harding thus becomes the candidate of all the party, not only by the law of conventions, but by the good will and rational enthusiasm of all the voters who heretofore have called themselves Republicans, or Progressives of Republican origin and affinity.

Mr. Harding will become, with the progress of the campaign, a popular candidate. The entire people, when they come to know his ability, his worth, his desire to serve the public interest, and his strong personality,

which constantly brings to mind the mild-mannered and beloved McKinley, will find him more acceptable than the usual candidate named by a heated party convention.

Mrs. Harding's Part

No attempt to sketch this man's career can leave out of consideration the powerful and

wholesome influence of Mrs. Harding, a stately American woman of the very best womanly qualities. All during his mature life has he felt the worth of her influence. She has been his constant companion and adviser in all his ambitions, in triumph and defeat. In the days preceding and during the convention she was by his side to counsel and advise him. She has unlimited confidence in him and is now, as she ever has been, his safest counselor and his most confident supporter.

At Chicago Mrs. Harding might be said to have been his manager. No step was taken without consulting her, and



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MRS. WARREN G. HARDING

her advice was rarely, if ever, ignored. I talked with her in the headquarters late on the night preceding the Senator's nomination. Her absolute confidence in the ultimate triumph was a tonic to all the "boosters" of her famous husband.

Warren G. Harding's present position is the logical outcome of genuine worth in our country of the open door to success. He is to-day a splendid example of American achievement, and stands out as an inspiration to the American youth, a fresh demonstration of Emerson's dictum that America is but another word for opportunity.

DEMOCRATIC POLICIES AT SAN FRANCISCO

BY HON. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

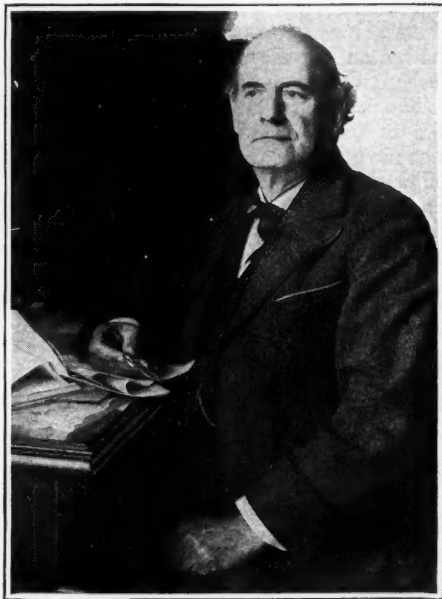
I AM glad to avail myself of the generous invitation of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS to speak of the work likely to be done by the Democratic convention when it meets in San Francisco. The delegates who assemble there will be guided by the same motive that controlled the delegates to the Republican convention just adjourned. That is, the paramount purpose will be to present a winning platform and candidate.

I do not care to discuss candidates at this time. There is no logical candidate this year—no man so closely identified with the party's program as to be in himself an embodiment of the record and purpose of the organization. The platform adopted will increase or decrease relative availability of aspirants. For instance, a "dry" plank will of itself eliminate "wet" candidates; and a "wet" plank, if such a thing were possible, would eliminate "dry" candidates.

Of principles and policies it is easier to speak. The party has a wonderful record of accomplishment; and this record will of course be endorsed. During the first four years of President Wilson's administration, the Democratic party, in complete possession of the government, put upon the statute books more great remedial measures than were ever written into law in any previous four years. These measures have so completely vindicated themselves in practice that the Republican party would not dare to challenge any of them.

The Party's War Record

During the second administration Democratic officials conducted the nation's part in the most gigantic war of history. While mistakes have been made, and while waste can undoubtedly be found, the faults will appear insignificant when compared with unparalleled accomplishments. No other nation ever so quickly and so effectively mobilized its resources. No other army was ever drafted in so short a time; and neither any other government nor this government at



Wide World Photos

HON. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

any other time so carefully safeguarded the morals of the men in uniform.

While it is true that the Republican party supported the President as loyally as did his own party up to the very day of the armistice, the Democratic party should not be denied credit for the conduct of the war. The Republicans did not fail to claim credit for success in the Spanish war, although the Democrats supported a Republican President then as loyally as the Republican party supported a Democratic President in the recent war.

Republican Attacks

It was not until the war was over that the Republican party was able to make any progress in its attacks upon the Administration. It is true that the vote cast in the Congressional election of 1918 indicated a

growth in the Republican vote, but this was not unnatural. The war, being unprecedented in magnitude, called for action upon many different subjects, and the introduction of new measures necessarily alienated many people.

The appeal which the President made at the close of the campaign is by many blamed for a part of the Republican increase. Many Democratic candidates feel that their defeat was due in part to the President's letter—it being impossible, after its publication, to secure Republican support to offset the falling-off due to dissatisfaction of Democrats with measures which the Administration considered necessary to the proper conduct of the war. The President's letter gave Republican leaders a pretext, if not an excuse, for unloosing a partisan spirit which has met the President at every point since that election.

The negotiation of the treaty raised many new questions of which the Republicans were quick to take advantage. They questioned the wisdom of his going to Paris; they complained that he did not invite prominent Republicans to aid in the framing of the treaty; they warned him of opposition to proposed terms; they heckled him at every opportunity.

Attitude on the League of Nations

It is not worth while to discuss now whether the President was as tactful as he might have been, or whether he could have turned away senatorial wrath by a soft answer. The situation has to be dealt with as it is, and that situation presents one of the most difficult problems with which the convention will have to deal. No course is entirely easy. To declare for the covenant of the League of Nations as it was written, involves a rebuke to twenty-seven out of the forty-seven Democratic Senators—twenty-three of whom voted for ratification with what are known as the Lodge reservations, and four of whom were opposed to ratification under any conditions. To declare in favor of ratification with any reservations different from the Lodge reservations would require agreement upon reservations proposed and a campaign in which the voters would be lost in the effort to compare phraseology.

To declare in favor of ratification with the reservations agreed upon by thirty-four Republicans and twenty-three Democrats—fifty-seven out of the seventy-seven Senators favoring ratification but differing on reser-

vations—would seem to be the easiest way out of the dilemma. It would put the Democratic party in the position of defending the League of Nations as an institution, and it would enable our party to avail itself of the support of the League idea by more than two-thirds of the Republican Senators. Acceptance of the vote of a majority involves no mortification in a government dedicated to the rule of the people. Acquiescence in the position of a majority is the basic principle of our republic—it permits progress without any surrender of opinion. In this case it could be aided by advocacy of a constitutional amendment permitting a majority to ratify a treaty, thus making it as easy to end a war as to enter it.

The League of Nations is a continuing institution; any changes that need to be made can be made—that is what the League is for. It will be constantly called upon to consider proposed changes. An immediate acceptance of the decision of a majority enables us to enter the League now and do our duty to the world, a duty so imperative that we know that the other nations would infinitely prefer to have us accept with any reservations we deem necessary, rather than to postpone our entry into this august tribunal.

Democratic Devotion to Peace

If the Republicans are willing to drag this great world question into a political campaign, in the hope of making political capital out of it, the Democrats can appeal with confidence to that patriotic spirit which will applaud our party if it refuses to share responsibility for any postponement of the relief which the League of Nations can bring. We have great domestic problems that demand attention; those who are interested in these problems will be grateful to our party if it opens the way for the prompt consideration of home questions while it at the same time offers counsel and advice that may mean more to the peace of the world to-day than a million men would mean a year from now.

Such a policy would seem as expedient as it is righteous, for we know now that neither party will be able to secure at the coming election a two-thirds control of the United States Senate; and since a two-thirds vote is now necessary to ratification, the Senate will be as helpless after March next as it is now, neither party being able to furnish the votes necessary for ratification upon its own terms.

The Democratic party has an opportunity

to prove its devotion to the world at large without sacrificing the interests of our own country. It can declare a policy as beneficial to the United States as to other nations. It can move for the disarmament of the world, and the motion will be seconded by the wage-earners of every civilized nation and by the producers generally, who cry out against increased burdens of taxation.

Nothing but disarmament can save the world from greater military burdens than were borne before the war. Look at our own country. We are now proposing an expenditure of something like a billion a year for army and navy, a great deal more than was considered necessary before the world was made safe for democracy. The Republican leaders have not only shown indifference to world peace, but they have attempted to add to our military burdens by the inauguration of a system of universal compulsory military training estimated to cost the people seven hundred millions a year.

Nobody is in position to say in advance what action the Democratic party will take on the League issue, but I am persuaded that our appeal to the American people will not be in vain if we prove our devotion to universal peace. The old theory of peace by terrorism has been exploded; we have yet to try peace based upon coöperation and brotherhood, made effective through machinery that substitutes reason for force in the settlement of international differences.

Dealing with the Profiteer

I am not risking much when I express the belief that the Democratic party will deal effectively with the profiteer. Senators Lodge, Johnson, and Borah, in their speeches at Chicago, tried to shift from Congress to the President blame for continued profiteering, and the convention adopted the same policy. If, as will hardly be disputed, a large majority of the profiteers are active members of the Republican party, it is not difficult to understand why the Republican convention treated the subject so lightly. The Democratic convention will not be so greatly embarrassed, and may be expected to take advantage of the inaction of the Republican convention by proposing specific legislation that will, first, eliminate unnecessary middle men, and, second, restrict the necessary middle men to a compensation commensurate with the service actually rendered.

Such action is necessary not only to pre-

vent injustice to both producers and consumers, but it is also necessary for the purpose of preventing an undue expansion of the middle-men class. Men will not be content to toil upon the farm or in the factory if those who engage in trade are permitted to exact an extortionate toll. Profiteering is contagious, but it differs from other contagious diseases in that people are anxious to catch it.

We do not think it any infringement upon the rights of bankers to put a legal limit upon the amount of interest that they can collect; is there any reason why the same principle of limitation may not be applied to other classes of business? It is the effect of usury, not the name, that justifies the law; and the middle man's profit may be as usurious as an extortionate rate of interest.

Labor Questions

I venture to predict that the delegates assembled at San Francisco will give sympathetic attention to both wage-earners and farmers—the two classes that together constitute more than half of the population. The Republican party is very quick to denounce class government when government by the laboring class or by the farmer is suggested, although class government by a large class would not seem to be more obnoxious than class government by a small class. The Republican party does not disguise its willingness to have the so-called "business class" in control of the government. The Democratic party is in position to object to class government by any class, and to insist upon real democracy—that is, "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people," in which each citizen shall be entitled to equal voice and to equal rights no matter to what class he may belong.

I hope that our platform will not only clearly define the things which it favors in the interest of labor, but that it will propose a plan, similar to the plan embodied in our thirty treaties for the adjustment of disputes. We have at present no sufficient machinery for the prevention of strikes. The treaty plan provides for investigation instead of arbitration. Arbitration implies forced acceptance of the award, whereas investigation leaves the parties to act independently after the facts are laid before the public. Compulsory arbitration is, I think, antagonistic to the American spirit whether applied to employer or employee; but compulsory investigation is not only in the interest of both

employer and employee but protects the public—that large third party whose interests have not been sufficiently safeguarded.

I think our convention will favor a bonus to the service men to be paid from a fund raised from a tax on war profits and stock dividends.

The Prohibition Amendment

We cannot know at this time whether there will be agreement or disagreement upon the prohibition question. The amendment is a part of the Constitution; the Volstead Act is upon the statute books; and the Supreme Court has upheld the amendment and the law against every attack made upon them. No one would now think of inserting a "wet" plank in the Democratic platform; and it is not certain that any considerable opposition can now be made to the insertion of a "dry" plank. John Barleycorn is dead. Why not bury him? The obsequies naturally follow the demise, and as in this case the demise may be regarded as due to a death sentence legally imposed and lawfully executed, it would seem to be proper that the Democratic party should formally assist in disposing of the corpse.

Our party has had an honorable part in the abolition of the saloon; the District of Columbia was made "dry" by a law passed by a Democratic Senate and House and signed by a Democratic President. The national amendment was submitted by a Democratic Senate and House and ratified by every Democratic State.

It is not sufficient to say, as some now do,

that the question being settled no mention need be made of it in the platform. Since when has it ceased to be proper for a party to point with pride to great accomplishments? Why should our party be denied credit for its share in the greatest moral triumph of the generation, if not in the nation's history? The Democratic party deemed it wise to announce in three Democratic platforms that slavery was dead and that the subject was not to be reopened. Three citizens of New York State ran on these platforms—the platforms of 1868, 1872, and 1876.

If it was wise to announce repeatedly that the slavery question would not be reopened, when no State was asking that it be reopened, shall we hesitate now to make a similar declaration in regard to the death of the liquor traffic when the Democrats of a great State like New York formally announce unalterable opposition to the amendment and promise its repeal?

The failure of the Republican Convention to endorse prohibition makes indorsement by the Democratic party more imperative.

I have not attempted to cover all the questions that will be considered by the convention, but the ones referred to will be among the most important. When we have written a platform which meets the needs of the hour, we shall be in better position to select a candidate who fits the platform. As principles and policies are more important than the officials who carry them out, I need offer no apology for discussing these rather than men.



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THE CONVENTION HALL AT SAN FRANCISCO

GOVERNOR COX AND THE OHIO BUDGET

EVERYBODY seems to be for a federal budget system. Presidential aspirants in recent statements invariably have included it in their list of recommendations. Agitation for it by no means is new but never has there been such a unanimity of expression for it as in recent months.

If the scheme is adopted by the federal government, as sooner or later no doubt it will, it probably will be patterned after the system as it is operated in some of the States. Half a dozen or more States have the budget system, as have also some of the larger cities of the country.

Among the first States to adopt it was Ohio. In his first campaign for Governor, back in 1912, James M. Cox pledged himself to inaugurate the system in Ohio, if elected. He was then a member of Congress, a member of the Committee on Appropriations, and had become disgusted with the unsystematic handling of public funds.

Accordingly, one of his first recommendations to the Ohio general Assembly in 1913 was that of a budget system, placing the financial affairs of the State as nearly as possible upon a business basis. The scheme as recommended by him was adopted and has been in operation ever since. At no time has there been any thought of abolishing it. It demonstrated its worth as a money-saver from the beginning and, although the State has had two Republican General Assemblies since, never has an attempt been made to repeal the budget system as first inaugurated by a Democratic Governor and Legislature.

Abuses of Former Methods

The previous Ohio fiscal system had grown grossly archaic. Appropriations were made by the Legislature to the departments in lump sums or in the form of granting all receipts and balances, some of the departments being maintained by fees from interests they regulate. Of the departments having receipts of their own, many had deposits of their own in banks, had their own checking accounts, so that their funds never

passed through the State Treasury or through the hands of the State Auditor.

Other departments got much or little from the Legislature, depending upon whether they had a gifted representative to appear for them before the legislative finance committees. Institutions vied with each other in providing the best entertainment to the finance committees as they made their week-end junket trips over the State during legislative sessions.

The System as Now Organized

All this was changed in one sweeping stroke in the first administration of Governor Cox. All receipts of all departments now go into the State Treasury and none leaves the treasury until it is appropriated in specific sums for specific purposes within specific departments. The State Auditor has a check on every expenditure.

The Ohio budget department is composed of one commissioner, appointed by the Governor, an assistant and a clerk! All department requests for funds desired of the next succeeding legislature are filed with the Budget Commissioner. He investigates all items, ascertains the reasons for any increases that are asked, and fixes the sums he deems proper.

Also he estimates what the State revenues during the next biennium will be and prunes the budget to come within the total of expected revenues.

The budget as prepared by the commissioner is submitted to the Governor, who frequently makes changes of his own after advising with department heads.

The Governor then presents the budget to the Legislature, which refers it to the finance committees of the two houses. The committees, and in turn the Legislature, have full authority to make any alterations, increases or decreases, desired, but the spell-binding by department representatives and wire-pulling by lobbyists are reduced to a minimum because the Budget Commissioner sits at all sessions of the Finance Committees and at all times is prepared to defend the allowance he thinks a department should have.

State Reforms and Betterments

The Ohio Budget system has effected savings not in the sense that expenditures of the State government now are less than in 1913—for they have increased from \$1,000,000 to \$3,000,000 annually since then—but only in the sense that expenditures each year have been less than they would have been without the budget plan of pruning and scaling down demands of existing State departments with a view both to general economy and avoidance of deficits.

The reforms and extensions which Governor Cox has put through, after pledging himself in campaigns to do so if elected, cost millions. But these additional expenditures always have been met by the normal increase of receipts from existing revenue sources.

School System Reorganized

The Ohio school system, for illustration, has undergone a complete reorganization under Cox's leadership. County supervision has been established, with the State paying half of the salaries of county superintendents. Approximately 1000 centralized rural elementary and high schools have replaced eight times as many one-room district schools, and consolidation is continuing at a rapid pace throughout the State, resulting in a greater aggregate cost but a lower cost per pupil because attendance has been greatly increased. The 1914 school code also required for the first time normal training for elementary teachers and college training for high-school teachers. It introduced agriculture, domestic science, and boys' and girls' club work into rural schools.

Teachers' Salaries Raised

Salaries of school teachers gradually have been increased from a minimum of \$40 a month to a statutory minimum of \$800 per school year. The nation-wide shortage of school teachers will be met in Ohio in a year or two, according to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, who has announced that the normal school attendance next fall will increase from 50 to 100 per cent. Ohio has a new system whereby the State will give financial aid to weak school districts sufficient to guarantee meeting of minimum standards even in districts with the lowest property duplicates. The school reorganization under his three administrations is perhaps the one accomplishment of which Governor Cox is proudest.



GOVERNOR JAMES M. COX

Road Improvement

Notable also are the highway system and compulsory workmen's compensation. Governor Cox in his first term inaugurated a main market and inter-county road system, connecting all principal cities and all counties. The State paid the entire expense of main market road improvement and half of the inter-county road construction. This system now is nearing completion and the Ohio Good Roads Federation, a highway "booster" organization, has announced that it will make an effort to get State aid for purely intra-county roads. While no State work was being done in 1913 the entire Ohio program, State and county, with federal aid, now has grown to \$30,000,000 a year. Road improvement must go hand in hand with school improvement, Governor Cox always has contended. Each is both cause and effect of the other.

Workmen's Compensation

Under Cox's compulsory workmen's compensation Ohio system, every employer of five or more persons must pay premiums into the State insurance fund or file bond guaranteeing payment direct to an injured workmen of any award the industrial commission may fix. The system now insures more peo-

ple, collects more premiums, settles more claims, pays more awards, and has more money in its reserve than any similar institution in this or any other country. Since its inception \$46,000,000 has been paid into the fund, \$24,000,000 has been paid out in awards to workmen or their dependents, and of the remainder approximately \$19,000,000 is obligated and being paid out in weekly instalments to beneficiaries. More than 900,000 claims have been allowed. The number of insured workmen approximates 1,500,000. While formerly courts were cluttered with personal injury suits, such now are a thing of the past in Ohio.

Other Cox reforms are: Civil service in State and sub-divisions; the initiative and referendum in State legislation; non-partisan judiciary; "blue sky" or securities department; widows' pensions; consolidation of State departments; home rule for cities; nominating primary elections; prison reform.

How State Expenditures Are Controlled

The first budgetary appropriation bill repealed an existing appropriation law. It reduced appropriations aggregating \$9,709,288 to \$8,762,664, a saving of \$946,623.

The Ohio budget and consequently its appropriation law classifies expenditures in two divisions: (1) Operating expenses and (2) Capital outlay (or permanent improvements).

Operating expenses are subdivided into personal service and maintenance. Personal service in turn is divided into salaries and wages, and maintenance into supplies, materials, equipment, contract or open order service, and fixed charges and contributions.

Elasticity of funds within departments is afforded by periodical meetings of a board of control, composed of the Governor (who may be and usually is represented by the Budget Commissioner), the State Auditor, the Attorney-General, and the chairman of the two legislative finance committees. If any new need develops within departments, funds for the purpose may be provided by a four-fifths vote of the board of control. Effort first is made to transfer the needed funds from one classification to another within the department. If no fund within the department has a surplus, and the need is great enough, relief may be granted by the emergency board, having the same membership as the board of control, which has at its dis-

posal an emergency fund for contingencies arising between legislative sessions.

On the subject of a federal budget, Governor Cox recently said:

I am persuaded that a modern budget system, such as we adopted in Ohio in 1913, with refinements and improvements that time has shown to be necessary, would go far toward bringing relief from our national debt. Since the budget was adopted in Ohio the subject has pressed itself on the attention of lay thought where formerly it had only the consideration of experts. For years the agitation has proceeded in behalf of a federal budget, and the consummation of a modern plan has been delayed, as most people believe, not because of any misgivings as to its efficiency and economy, but solely from the fact that the congressional committees vested with the powers to appropriate money have been unwilling to surrender them.

Our Ohio experience with the budget system has limitations in its operations with the constitution of the State, but so far as it has gone, it has helped simplify the financial affairs of the State, has resulted in a great saving, and clearly indicates what might be accomplished if the results of painstaking investigation were the basis of obligated action.

The system in Ohio has saved the State millions of dollars a year. During the war, notwithstanding the increased expense of government, we were enabled to keep our fiscal affairs on a stable base without increasing taxes and without invoking any new sources of revenue.

A Proposed Constitutional Amendment

Perfection never has been claimed for the Ohio system. Governor Cox himself realizes certain weaknesses in it and is making a fight now for strengthening features, which, however, necessitate a change in the constitution. One defect is that, regardless of probable income, the Legislature may increase items in the budget (rather the appropriation bill based on the budget) and it may make other appropriations in separate bills as it sees fit without regard to prospective revenues.

In his 1919 message to the General Assembly, a Republican body, the Governor urged submission to the people of an amendment to the constitution providing that the Legislature shall have the right to diminish any item in the executive budget by majority vote or to strike out any item; that, however, it shall not be privileged to increase any item or to add a new one unless it makes legislative provision for sufficient revenue to meet the added cost.

Such an amendment was not submitted. Unless it is done by an early legislature, adherents of Cox in Ohio say it may be undertaken by initiative petition.

EUROPE'S UNREST OF TO-DAY

GERMANY, POLAND, RUSSIA, HUNGARY—ALLIED CONFERENCES—THE FINANCIAL SITUATION

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE GERMAN ELECTION

BY far the most important event in the past month has been the German general election, the second since the downfall of the imperial régime. As I write this article only the early returns from the polls are in and the complicated counting system promises considerable delay in making up the official statement. Yet the significant fact is set forth in the partial returns with all sufficient clarity that the more or less moderate group, which dominated in the National Assembly, has opened to the right and to the left. The extremists, revolutionary on one side and reactionary on the other, have won.

Before analyzing the early returns it is essential to establish clearly the meaning of the tremendous overturn. For whether the coalition government just squeezes through or goes down in complete ruin there is no mistaking the fact that the change in popular sentiment witnessed by the votes has been enormous. Unexpected it was not, yet despite the probabilities the world in general hoped that Germany would still cling to the régime chosen more than a year ago, as the best promise of rehabilitation.

What has happened has been the repudiation by the masses of laboring men, by the working classes, by the radicals generally, of the Majority Socialists, who constituted the largest single group in the German National Assembly, and a corresponding repudiation by the bourgeoisie of the Democratic party, which represented the idea of progressive but not radical democracy. The mass of the Socialists have gone over to the extreme left. The Independent Socialist faction, a vast number of the moderates, have gone over to one of the reactionary parties which represent the old order, the Prussian, the Junker spirit.

Disappointing as the result will be held in many quarters, it is not less clear that it was

inevitable. Events like the Kappist rising may have accentuated the pace of the disintegration of the Majority Socialists, but it is not less evident that this Majority Socialist party was always doomed, because it lacked both the courage and the conviction necessary to champion the radical views of the mass of its membership. During the war the men who now lead the Majority Socialists accepted the will of the Junkers and Militarists without question. They voted the military credits; they supported the most extreme military measures. They accepted the annexationist program of the Ludendorff group.

When the war was lost and the revolution broke out, the Majority Socialists came to power, but they promptly turned to the right, to the reactionaries, for their support. Noske's army, which put down the real revolution in Germany, that of January and February, 1919, was officered by representatives of the old system. Indeed, the sole foundation on which the Majority Socialists, the Ebert Government, undertook to build was that supplied by the old army. It passively tolerated the murder of Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Kurt Eisner, and scores of only less conspicuous leaders who during the war had dared to challenge the army group and after the defeat had sought to achieve a real revolution by sweeping the old order out of the positions which it still retained under Ebert.

Henceforth there was the feud of blood between the two Socialist factions. To the men who followed Liebknecht, to the men who after all honestly represented the democratic spirit in Germany, that is, in its more radical form, Ebert, Bauer, the whole of the new régime were traitors to the Socialist cause who had consented to and connived in the murder of their fellow Socialists, who had suffered the militarists to assassinate and had then protected the assassins. The Kappist rising was the final evidence for the mass

of German Socialists of the weakness and worse of the Ebert government.

All the circumstances of this episode disclosed the fact that the Ebert government was powerless to resist the reactionaries. It fled incontinently from Berlin at the first shot. It unchained a general strike as an afterthought and this general strike finally wrecked Kapp's rising, but when Ebert came back to Berlin he took no steps to punish the guilty militarists; instead he turned once more to the army to find the weapons necessary to punish those Germans in the Ruhr who had contributed by their strike to defeating the Kapp rebellion and were still fighting against the reactionary influences in the Ebert government.

After this there was no further hope that the mass of the radicals would stay with Ebert. War had actually broken out between the out-and-out radicals and the time-servers and more or less moderate elements. The result of this war is disclosed in the first returns of the elections. Thus, in the election of January, 1918, the Majority Socialists won 163 seats against 22 for the Independent Socialists, while the former polled 11,112,000 votes, against 2,186,000 for the latter. The proportion was thus 5 to 1 in favor of the Majority Socialists. But early figures for the later election disclose the Independent Socialists with a poll of 3,648,000 against 3,523,000 for the Majority Socialists.

On the basis of rather more than half the vote, the coalition of the Majority Socialists, Center and Democrats, received, respectively, 22.5 per cent., 11 per cent., and 10 per cent.; that is, 43.5 per cent. in all, against 39.3 per cent., 18.8 per cent., and 19.5 per cent.; that is, 77.8 per cent. in all, in 1919. In other words, the coalition vote fell from more than three-quarters to materially less than one-half of the total, thus losing its majority. The loss was divided fairly equally between the radicals and the reactionaries, the Independent Socialists and Communists gaining 18 per cent., the several reactionary parties 16 per cent.

Later returns may modify the results somewhat, may even leave the coalition with a scant majority, but this seems fairly unlikely. On the face of the preliminary returns it would seem possible for the two Socialist groups and the Communists to organize a government, were there any chance of compromise. But this seems to German commentators to be out of the question. On

the other hand, the present Premier, Muel-ler, has announced in advance that the Majority Socialists will not combine with the People's Party. It is possible, then, that the Catholic Center and Democrats, joining with the People's Party and the Nationalists, may form a government. But such a government would have but a slight margin at most.

The fact is that, unless the final returns materially change the situation, the next German Parliament will be almost equally divided between a left made up of the Socialists and Communists, that is, of the two branches of the Socialist party, for the Communists contribute only an insignificant fraction, and a right composed of the various other parties which in the past and under different names have dominated the Reichstag and done the will of the elements who ruled before the war.

II. WHAT IT MEANS

As I have said, the general view of the non-German world was that a victory for the coalition was most to be desired, both for reasons of world peace and for the best interests of Germany. Yet it seems to me that the actual result may in the long run prove more advantageous than has been expected. It is true that there may be a return of the old leaders on the reactionary side. We may have a reactionary government and fresh trouble with the military and Junker crowds. But it is not less possible that such a government may prove short-lived.

The truth is patent that the Majority Socialists were on the whole more or less the tools of the old régime. The men who held office were trained in subservience to the elements which they were pledged to extirpate, and they promptly found themselves obliged to rely upon these elements for their own positions. Thus while the leaders of the Majority Socialists more and more played into the hands of the reactionaries, the masses making up the party, with increasing unanimity, abandoned their leaders and set their faces toward the Independent Socialists, who were actually advocating Socialistic principles.

Unless all signs fail, the Independent Socialists will now absorb the Majority faction, and in absorbing it will eliminate many of the leaders who have been, if not faithless, at the very least powerless to fulfil their pledges or to satisfy the mass of German democracy. Thus an honest opposition, a

genuine democratic party in Germany, may presently develop. That the Independent Socialists will endeavor to put Bolshevistic principles into practice seems to me unlikely. Despite all the manifestations of Bolshevism in various regions, notably in the Ruhr, there is nothing to suggest that the mass of the German proletariat desires to imitate the Russian example.

On the face of the returns, so far collected, it is clear that the several parties which in general represent reaction have made material progress and may control the new Assembly. Yet the gain of the reactionaries is more apparent than real. Thus on the partial returns which I have quoted, the two Socialist parties are disclosed as together counting 46 per cent. of the total vote, as against 47 per cent. at the last election, while the appearance of a Communist party, which cast 2 per cent. of the total, covers the difference between the radical total of 1919 and 1920. What has really happened has been that the radicals have changed from one faction to another, while remaining Socialists. By contrast the conservative and reactionary elements have also shifted labels, but there has been no material gain for the aggregate of these various parties.

In fact the radicals have simply declared for a leadership which seems to them more representative of true radicalism, while the moderates and reactionaries, on their part, have turned toward a more pronounced expression of their own views. Substantially half of the total vote was cast by the Socialists and Communists, and the fraction of the latter is insignificant. Moreover, of the older parties not a few members still continued to favor the coalition, which represented something far away from extreme reaction.

The efficacy of the general strike as a weapon against reaction was clearly disclosed by the Kappist fiasco. That any new bid of the Junkers and Militarists would be more successful may at least be doubted. Conceivably, when the autumn election comes and a new President is chosen, the moment may be deemed propitious. Or Hindenburg may be elected, and after he comes to power be made the instrument of a real reaction. On the other hand, it seems to me that there is clear gain in the rise of the Independent Socialists, since, as I have said, this promises a real democratic party, a party sincerely opposed to the old régime and led by men not afraid to fight it. In most respects the Ebert government was a sham. Such sincerity as

it actually showed was quickly cowed into submission by the military party. It had to choose between the right and the left, and it showed itself more afraid of revolution than of reaction. Once it had permitted the old order to control the military details in its affairs it was lost.

On the other hand, it does not seem to me that as a result of the recent election there is any sound reason for expecting that conditions in Germany will promptly improve. On the contrary, the real fight between the old and the new, between the Prussian and the Socialist, between democracy and autocracy has only entered a new stage. In this new stage the opponents are more clearly outlined, the actual conflict is more open. But we are still a long way from a decision, and on the eventual decision everything depends. I shall hope to deal with the German election more specifically next month, when the final returns have become available. But at the moment, on the preliminary reports, the single unmistakable fact would seem to be that the coalition has broken down, that the failure of the Ebert government to satisfy the real Socialists has substantially wrecked the Majority Party, while the restricted extent to which it has actually sought to apply democratic principles has driven the more conservative elements away from the Democratic and Center parties and into the reactionary parties. And in sum the result has been the creation of a practical deadlock between Socialism and reaction.

III. THE RUSSO-POLISH WAR

Next to the German election, the most interesting event of the month has been the Russo-Polish War, which has led to very considerable engagements, both in the Ukraine about Kiev and in the north about the Beresina River in the region forever memorable as the tomb of the Grand Army of Napoleon. That this conflict is a real war is disclosed in the statistics of soldiers engaged. Thus the Poles have certainly half a million men at work, while the Ukrainians must number more than a hundred thousand and the Russians above a million.

The causes of the conflict are clear. Poland is seeking at one time to fortify her southern position by contributing to the erection of a friendly and independent Ukrainian state, and her northern frontiers, that is, northern and eastern, by carrying her border at least to the Pripet Marshes. Actually, the

Poles have claimed their historic and strategic frontiers, the Dwina and the Dnieper, the frontiers toward Russia, which were violated by the first Partition in 1772. In this claim is included the ancient title to Lithuania.

By contrast the Paris Conference fixed the eastern frontier of Poland at the Bug, nearly two hundred miles to the westward, and denied Polish claims to Lithuania and to portions of White Russia. That the Poles would accept this Paris decision was always unbelievable. Not only did this decision leave several millions of Poles outside the frontiers of the reborn Poland, but in addition it gave the country no natural defence against Russian attack, either by the Bolsheviks to-day or by the Russian Nationalists to-morrow.

Instead Poland promptly occupied Vilna, which is an almost purely Polish city, and made good the line of the Dwina, at the same time occupying Minsk and Pinsk and pushing further eastward. All this was done many months ago, when the Western nations were still so afraid of Bolshevism that they were by no means averse to seeing Polish troops interpose a barrier to Bolshevik advance.

But the times have changed. The failure of Kolchak, Denikine, Yudenitch, the protest of certain elements in each of the Western nations, the growing sense of inability to deal with the Bolsheviks with arms—these circumstances have combined to produce a sentiment in favor of making peace with Russia. And this peace, advocated by commercial elements on the one hand and by so-called "Liberals" on the other, finds itself more or less blocked by the Polish campaign. Thus in England, and even in certain quarters in the United States and in Italy, the Polish policy has provoked protest and criticism.

Yet, it must be said for the Poles that they are asking for themselves only what was once their own. British criticism of a policy of seeking safe frontiers is hardly consistent with British policy in Mesopotamia, Palestine, Persia, where British military forces are engaged and British diplomats are successfully claiming British spheres of influence as guarantees, alike of the security of India and Egypt. It is alleged that the Polish claim to a safe eastern frontier sinned against the principle of self-determination. But President Wilson recognized the Italian annexation of a quarter of a million of German-speaking Tyrolese, and an even

larger number of Slovenians, as a detail in Italian possession of the crests of the Alps, and thus, of the gateways to the Italian plain.

As to the Polish claim to hold the west bank of the Dwina and of the Dnieper as a guarantee against Bolshevik aggression, it is not one whit more unreasonable or infelicitous than the French occupation of the Rhine barrier for fifteen years, which has been conceded as a right by all the Allied nations. I do not believe the Poles really hope to hold the frontiers of 1772, although they may seek to occupy the Dwina-Dnieper barrier for a certain number of years, but by contrast I am satisfied that only defeat and collapse will bring them to the point of yielding in the matter of Vilna, Pinsk, and Minsk.

At all events they have now made a bargain with the Ukrainians, who were fighting them a year ago. By this bargain Poland supports the Ukrainian fight for liberty, and receives in exchange Ukrainian consent to Polish possession of certain lands claimed by the Ukrainians, including Eastern Galicia and a strip of the old Russian province of Volhynia, including the fortresses of Ronno, Dubno, and Lutsk, famous all through the recent war. For Poland a free Ukraina is a great gain. Moreover, Rumania is equally interested in the elimination of a Russian menace on the side of Bessarabia, and more than benevolently concerned in the Polish-Ukrainian alliance.

It is by no means impossible that the future will see the formation of a triple alliance between Poland, Rumania, and the Ukraine, based on a common desire to avoid a new Russian advance westward and the loss of border provinces which were Russian before 1917. Such an alliance would represent a combined population of 75,000,000 and might easily become one of the great factors in the New Europe which will presently arrive.

Meantime the fighting between the Russians and Poles has led to nothing approaching a decision. In April the Poles and Ukrainians pushed the Russians out of Kiev, the prospective capital of the Ukraine, but the fighting continues not far from the city limits. Away to the north there has been and continues desperate struggling along the Beresina, with frequent claims of victory alike from Warsaw and Moscow. Yet it appears that a great Russian offensive, designed to turn the whole Polish front, has

been at least temporarily held up in this region, and as I write these lines the Poles seem to be making further gains.

After all, the Polish war is only one more demonstration of the fact that the big nations, having accomplished their war aims, cannot, save by force of arms, hope to prevent the smaller nationalities from vindicating claims which are at least as justifiable. As I said before, Poland is merely seeking to acquire what was once hers. She must expect permanent danger from the Russian side, whether the Bolsheviks continue in power or give way to a nationalist reaction. Security has been denied by the Paris Conference, which blandly turned over millions of Poles to Russian rule. The result has been a new war, fought with vast numbers and fought for issues which were familiar all through the last century.

IV. LONDON NEGOTIATIONS

As if to give final evidence of the incoherence of latter-day Allied policy, while Poland is fighting the Bolshevik along the Beresina, a Bolshevik agent is negotiating with Lloyd George in London. Moreover, while Rome follows this extraordinary spectacle with approval, there continue to come from Paris protests and unmistakable accusations.

Lloyd George's course is perfectly consistent with past performances. As far back as the early days of the Paris Conference he framed the Prinkipo proposal, looked with interest upon the Bullitt mission, and only abandoned more or less indirect conversations with the Russian Reds when English public sentiment for the time being seemed hostile.

To-day this hostility has died down and new circumstances combine to strengthen his hand in any peace proposal. First of all, Bolshevik agents and forces are busy in all that "no-man's land" which extends from the Caspian Sea to the frontiers of India. Failing peace with Russia, Britain may have to fight not merely to protect Persian interests but to defend Bagdad, to hold Mesopotamia, and all her Near-Eastern conquests of the world war.

In the second place, peace with Russia holds out the promise of the richest field for commercial exploitation in the world, and Britain is at the moment rapidly reaching a condition when she will be able to operate with enormous profit both on the

shores of the Baltic and of the Black Sea. In all the Baltic district British agents have been busy for more than a year and on the Black Sea the activity has been not less intense.

Prolongation of the existing situation so far as Russia is concerned promises something approaching a real war, the perpetuation of a menace to all of the British positions in the Near East. Actual peace means the abolition of this danger and the opportunity to forestall Germany in the great and profitable field of Russian reorganization.

Italy, also eager for a Russian settlement, is moved by slightly different reasons. The high cost of living reaches its apex in Italy. Nowhere has the result of the war been more disastrous to the masses of the people, that is, nowhere among Allied nations. In Italy it is believed by the masses that peace with Russia will mean the immediate release of vast quantities of Russian foodstuffs. Wheat and oil are particularly scarce in Italy, and the Italian masses believe Russia can furnish them. The hope is largely illusory, but it exists. In addition, the great Socialist party of Italy has much sympathy with the Russian Revolution.

In France, on the contrary, the sentiment remains fixed against peace with the Bolshevik. France has remained fairly constant in her Russian policy from the beginning. Moreover, if peace promises profit to Britain and holds out a dream of cheaper food for Italy, any peace which does not recognize French loans to Russia and provide for their payment spells a catastrophic loss for the French. To-day Russia owes France almost \$6,000,000,000, and this sum is more than sufficient to meet the external obligations of the French Republic.

The Bolsheviks have repudiated this debt as a debt of the Czarist régime. The French naturally and bitterly resent any separate peace negotiations on the part of the British—particularly negotiations which do not include a recognition of Russian debts to France. The whole London conference with the Bolshevik agent has awakened once more precisely the same French emotion which we saw stirred a few months ago over the Ruhr episode. Despite the temporary adjustment at that time, French suspicion has lingered and recent events have called forth a new explosion.

At bottom lies the same old difficulty. There is no common policy among the European Allies either as to Russia or as to Ger-

many. The British have backed the various anti-Bolshevist movements to an extent which, measured in money, is stupendous. Yet between times Lloyd George has conducted backstairs negotiations with the Reds, at one moment lending money and even soldiers to their enemies and at the next trying to arrive at some basis of business with their leaders.

The French believe, perhaps wrongly, that the Bolsheviks are about at the end of their rope. They are satisfied that the present British policy may just avail to save Lenin and Trotsky, and the French wholeheartedly and fairly unanimously desire the extinction of Bolshevism in Russia. In Britain, and far more in Italy, there is a measure of sympathy with the Red in certain radical quarters. In France the situation is far more closely like that existing in the United States.

V. FINANCIAL CONFERENCES

The Spa conference, which I mentioned in my last article, has been several times postponed and will not now be held before July. Exactly what effect the recent election in Germany will have upon the gathering remains problematical. Yet on the whole there is more than a suggestion that Germany will be even less compliant than had been hoped.

Meantime new differences have sprung up among the Allies over the subject of reparation. Belgium and Italy have both expressed displeasure at the fashion in which British and French premiers ignored the claims of other Allied nations at the Hythe Conference and have demanded a new hearing. Also France has again protested against the proposal to fix a sum for the total of German payment.

In Britain there is much disapproval of the Hythe suggestion that the bonds issued by Germany and paid to France should be accepted as payment of French indebtedness in Great Britain. This protest has been increased by the plain disclosure that the United States has no intention to accept German bonds as payment of British, French, Italian, and Belgian debt. By this cheerful process the United States would acquire more than half of all the outstanding German bonds and thus be the principal great power concerned in German payment. This would involve the United States in European affairs with a vengeance. But,

on the other side, Italy has demanded that the British accept German bonds for Italian debts, if she consents to take French.

And so the whole financial question is raised again. Ex-President Poincaré has resigned from the Reparations Commission in protest against the Hythe decision, Premier Millerand has told his fellow countrymen that France is bankrupt if Germany does not pay. But the question of payment remains wholly unsolved, and Canada has added to the general confusion by filing claims for a little less than \$2,000,000,000.

This sum is half as large as Keynes allowed France; it is materially larger than Belgium has been allotted in many schemes; and it forecasts an even larger claim from Australia, with impressive bills from New Zealand and South Africa. If Canada and South Africa are to have \$2,000,000,000 apiece, then the total British bill can hardly be less than \$10,000,000,000, and this is equal to the sum allowed all the Allies by Keynes. It is also more than two-thirds the sum agreed upon by the Hythe Conference, which fixed upon \$30,000,000,000 in annual payments of \$1,000,000,000, the principal to draw no interest.

Meantime the Germans are not paying—even in coal—and the French who recently evacuated Frankfurt are now raising the question of the necessity of occupying the Ruhr and thus obtaining the all-essential coal supply promised under the Treaty of Versailles but not yet provided.

For Americans the dispute has a vital bearing, for if we are to get back the \$10,000,000,000 owed us by our recent associates, we can only receive it if Germany pays. Moreover, if we refuse to accept German bonds, neither Italy nor France can pay us. The same is probably true of Belgium and certainly true of all the lesser states to whom we have made smaller loans. Keynes, it will be recalled, urged that we should consent to cancel these debts—a proposal which found little favor in Washington or in the country generally.

That Germany can pay more than \$15,000,000,000 has always seemed impossible to American financial experts. This was the American verdict at Paris. The Hythe Conference has doubled the amount, but the Canadian bill serves to demonstrate how inadequate even the Hythe figure is, in the face of the expectations of British Colonies, while French and Continental protests emphasize the fact.

VI. PEACE WITH HUNGARY

During the past month peace has been signed with Hungary. In some ways this treaty is the most severe of all the documents so far drafted. Before the war Hungary—equal and in reality dominant partner in the Dual Monarchy—had an area in excess of that of Great Britain and a population greater than most of Spain. As a consequence of the recent treaty she loses two-thirds of her area and population alike. To-day she is a country about twice as large as Switzerland, with a population inferior to that of Belgium. She has in fact become one of the small states of Europe.

In addition, she finds herself without access to the sea, with no natural frontiers—a mere mutilated fragment composed of the lands in the Danube Valley. More than 1,500,000 Magyars are now under alien rule. Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Jugo-Slavia have divided the Magyar border lands between them, and even Austria has acquired a slice about Odenburg.

On the whole, the boundaries have been drawn with fair regard for the ethnographic circumstances, but with a total unconcern for the economic factors. In truth the new Hungary, like the new Austria and Czechoslovakia, cannot exist permanently in its present state. Either all three must presently unite in some sort of economic if not political association or they will literally perish, for the products of all three are mutually and necessarily complementary. This Hungarian Treaty is the final step in what has not inaccurately been described as the Balkanization of Middle Europe.

In Italy, Nitti has not succeeded in retaining power. Beyond question he has shown himself to be the ablest and most moderate of contemporary Italian statesmen. His moderation has contributed much to smoothing the relations between Italy and Greece and has at least prevented an open clash with the Southern Slavs. Still the Fiume dispute remains unsettled, and D'Annunzio recently added fresh provocation.

The truth is that in all of Southeast Europe, as well as along the old Russian border, chaos still continues. Poland is fighting a real war. Hungary accepts an inescapable peace with no disguise of her determination to seek a new adjustment by force of arms. Italians and Southern Slavs remain at daggers drawn, while even in Albania the unrest is becoming significant.

Nor is the situation in Asia Minor more promising. There the Turk is successfully holding out in Armenia and in all the hinterland and menacing the Greeks in Smyrna and the French in Cilicia, where the fighting has been very sharp. Moreover, in Thrace, Turks and Bulgarians are resisting Greeks.

In short, all over Europe the barriers to all actual settlement continue to multiply. Germany remains still outside the world system. The Allies continue alternately to fight and to woo the Bolshevik. The small powers follow the example of the great in seeking their nationalistic ends, while the great powers threaten but do not do it. Finally, the great powers continue to disagree among themselves and to express their views with increasing bitterness. This is the situation almost a year after the Versailles Treaty closed "the war that was to end war."



AT THE HYTHE CONFERENCE—PREMIER MILLERAND AND M. MARSAL, FRENCH FINANCE MINISTER

A PLAN TO HELP EUROPE

BY HENRY P. DAVISON

[Mr. Davison, through his position as working head of the international union of Red Cross societies, together with his other sources of information, is probably better qualified than any other American citizen to express an opinion upon Europe's economic condition in its financial aspects. The plan stated by him herewith was formulated and announced several weeks before Congress adjourned. Unless the President should choose to send commissioners informally to prepare an advance report, no official action will be taken until after election, but leaders of American thought should not meanwhile ignore so vital a subject, and should be prepared for some action early in the winter.

Mr. Eliot Wadsworth, whose article on Europe's reconstruction problems follows Mr. Davison's, is a business man and engineer of wide experience, who has devoted the past four years to Red Cross work in a high official capacity, and whose recent observations in Europe qualify him to speak with exceptional knowledge and authority.—THE EDITOR.]

THERE has been so much written and spoken about the dire need of Eastern Europe, and so little done, that it is, perhaps, pertinent and helpful to put forward a definite plan for immediate action.

Constructive action in this matter may be regarded as altruistic by those who are so minded; it may be regarded as ordinary decency by those who so desire, or it may be regarded withal as good common-sense business, in the interests of commerce and trade and of the American people.

Here is what I would recommend:

First. That Congress pass a bill as soon as possible appropriating a sum not to exceed \$500,000,000 for the use of Central and Eastern Europe.

Second. That Congress call upon the President to appoint a non-political commission of three Americans, distinguished for their character and executive ability and commanding the respect of the American people. Such a commission should include men of the type of General Pershing, Mr. Hoover, or ex-Secretary Lane. I would invest that commission with complete power.

Third. The commission should be instructed to proceed at once, accompanied by proper personnel, to survey conditions in Central and Eastern Europe, and then to act for the restoration of those countries, under such conditions and upon such terms as the commission itself may decide to be practicable and effective. Among the conditions should be provided that there should be no local interference with the free and untrammelled exercise by the commission of its own prerogative of allocating materials. Governmental politics should be eliminated;

unreasonable and prejudicial barriers between the various countries should be removed; and such substantial guarantees as may be available should be exacted, in order that the conditions imposed should be fulfilled.

Fourth. The financial terms should be made liberal. I would suggest no interest for the first three years; for the next three years, six per cent., with the provision that such interest might be funded if the economic conditions of the country were not approaching normal, or if its exchange conditions were so adverse as to make payment unduly burdensome, the maturity of the obligation might be advanced fifteen years from its date, and I should have no doubt as to its final payment.

Fifth. As soon as the plan was adopted, our Government could invite other governments in a position to assist to participate in the undertaking.

Sixth. To set forth completely my opinion, I should add that in the final instructions the American people, through their Government, should say to the commission:

"We want you to go and do this job in such a manner as, after study, you think it should be done. This is no ordinary undertaking. The American people trust you to see that it is done right."

The commission should also be instructed to "use so much of this money as is needed." Personally, I am confident that with the assistance and coöperation which would come from other parts of the world, the sum of \$500,000,000 from the United States would be more than enough to start these countries

on their way to self-support and the restoration of normal conditions.

The whole plan, of course, involves many practical considerations, the most serious of which is that of obtaining the money, whether by issuing additional Liberty Bonds, an increase in the floating debt, or by taxation. But I think we could properly say to the Treasury Department: "We know how serious your financial problems are; we know the difficulties which are immediately confronting you; we know the importance of deflation, and we know that the Government must economize and that individuals must economize, but we also know that the American Government advanced ten billion dollars to its allies to attain victory and peace. Certainly it is worth making the additional advance in order to realize the peace for which we have already struggled—for nothing is more certain than that until normal conditions are restored in Europe there can be no peace."

Above all things, I would say that whatever action is taken should be taken without delay. The crisis is so acute that the situation does not admit of delay, except with the possibility of consequences one hardly dares contemplate.

The situation is far beyond the scope of individual charity. Only by the action of governments, our own and the others whose resources enable them to coöperate, can aid be given in sufficient volume. And I am confident that if the United States of America were to announce that it proposed to move to rescue those suffering peoples, there would go about the world a cry of joy. I am also confident that our action would be followed by the governments of Great Britain, Holland, the Scandinavian countries, Spain and Japan, and that France and Belgium and Italy, notwithstanding all of their losses, would help to the best of their ability in a coöperative effort of this kind.

SOME OF EUROPE'S RECONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS

BY ELIOT WADSWORTH

SINCE the era which saw the beginning of railway service and telegraphic communication, the peoples of Europe—no matter what their nationality—had been steadily drawn into closer economic relationship. Bent upon commercial development, the governments developed their railroads to fit in with those of other nations. Through train service between Paris and Petrograd was as reliable and comfortable as though traversing only one nation; freight and express delivery were highly developed.

Underlying this perfect piece of machinery for the physical exchange of commodities were currencies upon a gold basis and with fixed relative values. To facilitate transactions further, there were great banks and private banking firms which for generations had done business together. The war shattered the currencies, and in so doing it entirely destroyed the relative standing of banks and private firms. A bank in Vienna to-day might have enormous assets measured in Austrian kronen, but this does not

give it standing in Paris or London, or even in Berlin.

The countries which did not lose territory by the war have nevertheless suffered physical damage in loss of manhood and in credit by reason of their inflated currencies. As against the gold-basis countries of America, and nations such as Spain and Switzerland, which did not inflate their currencies, they are greatly handicapped in doing business.

Far worse is the situation of the little countries in eastern Europe which were launched forth into the world with new governments, new constitutions, and new currencies. They must each struggle for their own existence. Each one owns a small piece of the network of railways and telegraph lines which so closely connect the whole of Europe; but that piece is in bad condition and inadequately equipped. All agreements for the exchange of mails, the running of through passenger trains, the basis for customs duties, must be made again before these complicated pieces of machinery can be once

more linked up. But the intense fight for even an existence, which each nation is now making, does not make it easy to negotiate intricate traffic and other commercial agreements.

Upon the people who live in cities this new situation bears most heavily. In direct proportion to the dependence which each family had placed upon the machinery of civilization, the comfort and livelihood of that family has been affected by the breaking down of this machinery. The farmer suffers comparatively little from difficulties in getting fertilizer or seed or other of his limited needs. The city worker, relying for his income on a payroll, relying for his food, clothing, and coal upon a smoothly operating commercial machine, is often forced to change entirely his mode of life.

We in this country have had a very clear object-lesson, during the great storms of last winter and the railway strikes of this spring, as to the almost immediate effect upon each individual of interference with the normal course of transport and business.

To understand the complete change in Europe's structure it is necessary to study the new map as laid down by the Peace Conference and to understand the almost impassable economic barriers created by the new geographical boundaries. Look at the little sections into which Eastern Europe has been cut, beginning at the south with Yugoslavia and Rumania, extending through Hungary, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia on the north. Each state has its own government, its own currency, its own railroad system; each is paddling its own canoe.

German Austria's Plight

In Austria we find all that is left of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, with some 6,000,000 people, one-half of whom live in urban communities and 2,000,000 in Vienna. The whole country can produce in a good year about one-quarter of what it needs to eat. It must purchase the balance outside the country or starve. There is practically no industry in operation today which produces materials for export. The future of such a country holds forth no hope.

Vienna is perhaps the most striking example of the economic breakdown of a city that can be found in Europe. Its 2,000,000 people are living largely in idleness and on Government allowance.

From the looks of the people on the street, and from the way they move, the low vitality of the population is evident.

The situation falls more heavily upon the people of fixed salary or fixed income than upon the worker, whose pay has been increased by leaps and bounds. Personal effects, clothing, furniture, jewelry, etc., are being sold from week to week by this class. Vienna offers the greatest second-hand store in the world. When these things are gone what then? Nobody can give the answer.

Austrian paper money, formerly valued at 5½ kronen to the dollar, now has a value of 225 to 250-kronen to the dollar. A pair of shoes, and not very good ones at that, may bear a price tag of from 1000 to 1500 kronen. The storekeepers who are still doing business frankly say that when they have sold their existing stock they are through. To import more is impossible. Raw materials are not available to make more in Austria.

The situation is complicated by the fact that farmers outside Vienna are not willing to sell their product at the Government price.

The great need has led to an enormous smuggling of food by the farmers into the city, where it is sold at very high prices to those who can pay. These prices have brought one more step in the economic breakdown of city life, namely, that farmers are beginning to refuse paper money in payment. The city people must barter goods for the farmer's food. Clothing, shoes, graphophones, furniture, are paid out for daily food.

Into this stricken city American help has gone in two ways: The children have received from the American Children's Feeding Association a good meal of 650 calories on each week-day. In Vienna 140,000 children go each day to the allotted point of distribution with their motley assortment of pans and cans. They show plainly in their thin white faces and undeveloped bodies the undernourishment of months and years. To some it is the only meal of the day; to others it is breakfast and lunch combined. Little dish-washing is needed after that daily meal.

Throughout these Eastern countries nearly 4,000,000 children have been fed during the last winter. There can be no doubt that this gift from America has saved hundreds of thousands from death or some serious and permanent injury.

The other help has been through the American Red Cross. The hospitals, in

which there are more sick than ever before recorded, are hard pressed for linen, drugs, and invalid foods. The American Red Cross has sent to Vienna a considerable supply of these things, which have been distributed where they will do the most good.

Throughout all these Eastern countries a practical message of relief has thus gone to the sick and the destitute from the American people.

For the situation in Vienna nature will find a slow solution. The death rate has gone up substantially; the birth rate has gone down. This is too slow a method. Already many thousands of people have left the city, but for the poor, and even for the middle class, travel on the railroads is impossible because of the expense; and there is no country adjoining Austria which would welcome more mouths to feed.

Vienna can go through this summer on the American flour and on its other supplies. In the autumn will come the crop, which will carry them through another month or two—if it can be acquired from the producers. Beyond that there seems to be no light.

In Czechoslovakia

To the north of Austria lies Czechoslovakia. On account of its production of foodstuffs and coal it is far better off than Austria. It has, however, a large industrial population, which is only in small part at work again. Czechoslovakian kronen have nearly twice the value of Austrian kronen, but even at that figure the purchase of raw material in America is almost prohibitive.

Material must come across Germany, or over the limping railroads of Austria from Trieste. There is some sign of revival, but still the wage worker who lives in the city is a long way from being economically safe or comfortable. The problem of transportation is a large one for this inland country. All its external business is at the mercy of not too friendly neighbors.

Problems in Poland

Poland is by far the largest of the new countries carved out of Europe by the Peace Conference. It has three distinct populations. Some have lived under German jurisdiction, some under Austrian, and a large proportion under Russian for the last 150 years. They have known only the laws, customs, and methods of these three very different countries. Although Poles by na-

tionality and loyalty, they come to the central government at Warsaw with most divergent ideas and standards.

A Diet or parliament was elected more than a year ago to create a Constitution; but it has not yet done so, because of the difficulty of agreeing on any policy. How to divide, when to divide, and into how small pieces, has been the cause of endless debate with no definite answer.

The Polish mark began with a value of ten to the dollar. It has dropped continuously until 160 marks could be purchased for a dollar last March. The amount of printed currency is very large.

A million men are in the field; nearly all are along a line of some 400 miles, facing the Bolsheviks. Some of the troops face the Lithuanians on the north, where a little skirmishing occasionally occurs.

The Poles frankly fear peace more than war. They fear the demobilization of their army, which will greatly add to the problem of unemployment. They dread the influx of destitute and lice-infected refugees who will pour out of Soviet Russia toward the west. In the year 1919, it was estimated, 2,200,000 of these refugees came into Poland.

A large proportion of these people are coming back to their farms in the great area east of Warsaw. They find their land, but nothing else—no houses, no horses, no agricultural equipment, no seed. For five years the land has been untilled. Some give up in despair and wander on, often to become a Government charge in the cities. A great number go to work, living in the most primitive way, breaking as much of the soil by hand as is possible.

Warsaw is packed with those who have come from the devastated parts of the country. In every part of the city are lines stretching for blocks, in which men, women, and children stand for hours. They wait for bread, for shoes, for clothing, which is being doled out by a government already hard pressed financially.

The manufacturing centers, Lodz, Bielsk, Vilna, and others, show practically no signs of revival. The factories are not running, the people are idle. While the situation is like that of Vienna, it should never be as bad because Poland can produce a substantial part of what it needs to eat.

Poland will not produce this year enough to eat. Lack of horses, cattle, fertilizer, farming equipment, and seeds all tend to make the farm output far less than it was

before the war. Poland must buy food outside the country. With what credit and where, no one can say.

The railroad system is totally inadequate to the need. Rolling stock is deficient and in bad order; fuel is scarce; repair parts for locomotives and cars are almost unobtainable.

The output of oil in Galician fields is steadily dwindling, due to the stoppage of new drilling. Unofficial figures showed a decrease in output from 2,000,000 tons in 1909 to 700,000 tons in 1919. Without new wells the output two years from now will drop to 400,000 tons. Such a shortage is a serious factor in the economic breakdown which is going on in Eastern Europe.

Lithuania and Latvia

One step further north we find the new nation of Lithuania, a rich agricultural territory, not much industrialized and not yet much organized. The government has issued no new currency and has a small army which patrols its borders. A large proportion of the population go about their usual activities on the farms. The future of this new nation is quite vague, and its policy and affiliations are not yet determined.

In Latvia we have another small nation of about a million and a quarter people, with the capital at Riga. It should before long be self-supporting, but this year it needs additional food because of the interruptions to planting during the autumn of 1919. The former record of production would seem to show that with the full force of the country at work on the farms ample food could be produced.

Industrially, the situation is very different. The large cities of Latvia are at a standstill. Libau and Windau formerly served as ports for a large amount of shipping for all this northern part of Russia. They are practically at a standstill. The heavy freight traffic to Moscow and Petrograd no longer exists.

Riga was one of the great industrial centers of this part of Europe, a splendidly equipped city with fine buildings, streets, and public services. For two years none of its factories have operated, with the result that the population is now reduced to less than one-half. Almost complete stagnation exists. There is only coal enough to run the gas works for three hours a day. The great gas wharves are deserted and the railroad lines, which formerly acted as a summer

terminal for through lines to Moscow and Petrograd, are now limited in their operation to the boundaries of the country.

The factories of Riga are in many cases partly or wholly dismantled. Before the retreat of the Russians much of the machinery was taken out. Here is one of the great producing centers of northern Europe which has become a liability instead of an asset.

Esthonia

In Esthonia we find another little nation of about a million and a half persons. It is a little more than a year old, largely agricultural. The capital, Reval, is greatly overcrowded by refugees from Russia. Food is already scarce and will be scarcer before the crops come in. During January and February a terrible typhus epidemic developed in the northern part of the country, along the Gulf of Finland. All sanitary control was lost, and a serious situation was narrowly averted by the American Red Cross. Government officials and foreign observers are unanimous in saying that this work saved Esthonia, and probably much other territory in that vicinity, from a tragedy.

Reval was formerly active industrially. Its greatest industry, a large shipyard, has been idle for many months. One or two of its mills are running part time and with many difficulties giving some employment.

Reconstruction Problems

This, in brief, is a description of some of the new countries which formerly made up the great nations of Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Germany. To the east of this tier of states lies Russia, in almost complete economic disorder and a constant menace. To the west lies Germany, struggling to regain its former industrial life, with its equipment unimpaired but with a tremendous handicap due to shortage of raw material and coal. Germany can spare little or nothing to the rebuilding of the economic life of these new states. The purchase of materials, repair parts, and equipment from the western nations is almost impossible because of the lack of credit or money.

Much has been said as to the necessity for raw material and credit from America, in order that these new countries of Europe may make a start toward normal conditions. Some credit and a limited amount of raw material has been made available to certain countries by private capital. That their

needs are far greater than private capital can provide, in a world where capital is now so scarce, can hardly be doubted.

There is another and equally essential requirement which must be brought into the situation—namely, coöperation. Without a return to the former intimate commercial and transportation arrangements recovery must be slow. Even with credit and raw materials the little nations of eastern Europe would find it hard to return to past activity.

If a large fund—say \$500,000,000—were made available and placed in the hands of strong men, an influence would be created which might in a comparatively short time force a reuniting of the present broken threads of Europe's transportation and commercial equipment.

It would obviously be to the benefit of all these nations to reunite in their business life. I do not mean by this to suggest that they should become associated politically. It is quite possible, however, for them to achieve gradually as close a business relation as that which formerly existed between such countries as Italy, France, Germany, and Belgium. Unless some great influence comes into the situation and encourages the taking of the first necessary steps, it may require years for these new and untried governments to accomplish adequate results.

It is in bringing about coöperation that an American commission might make its greatest contribution. Loans would be paid back; there should be no financial loss. The giving of energy and organizing ability, guided by a sincere interest in all the peoples, would be something which need never be paid back. And yet it would create a relationship between this country and the peoples of eastern Europe the true value of which could never be measured.

By breaking down artificial commercial barriers between these new nations, transactions around the world could once more be carried on without the present impossible delays. Czechoslovakia might want American cotton; Rumania might want the product of this cotton in finished goods; England would like oil from Rumania; America must buy from England some of her high-grade manufactured articles. This in theory would bring the money back to America, not directly from the first purchaser of the cotton, but by reason of the free interchange among these nations of the products which

they have for sale. Probably no such exact set of transactions could take place, but the basis upon which the trade of the whole world was built was this ready flow of articles needed by one country and for sale by another. To remove once more the barriers which now obstruct this flow is a first essential to a return to normal commercial life. Before the war we looked upon this commercial life as a fixed and permanent thing, little realizing how badly it could be shattered by a few years of reckless waste and new conditions growing out of a war.

As a people, we in the United States have carried on some truly great pieces of development. There is nothing in the history of the world such as the conquest of the American continent and the development of its resources in less than a century. By our efforts in the Philippines, in Porto Rico, and in Cuba we have added to the wealth, comfort, and prosperity of many millions of human beings to whom we were strangers. In building the Panama Canal, without thought of profit, this country added a link to the world's commercial chain, the value of which has only just begun to be appreciated.

Now in eastern Europe there are sixty to seventy million people to whom a helping hand, partly in money but to a considerable extent in organization, might mean salvation from complete breakdown and a slipping back to almost a primitive agricultural life. Americans are not accustomed to this particular kind of activity. They have been too busy at home, solving the problems of a new continent. They are now becoming increasingly interested in foreign trade and foreign relations. If we should take up this work, other nations must surely join in the effort. In such joint operation, and in the affiliations which would undoubtedly be created with the people for whom and with whom we worked, we could train our own people and establish foreign business relationships with a rapidity only equalled by the marvelous expansion beginning with the thirteen colonies of 1789 and ending in 1920 with the greatest and richest nation in the world. Still more important to our own posterity we will have risen to meet what is perhaps the world's greatest crisis and done it from high motives and without thought of gain.

"HUNDRED-HARBORED MAINE"

THE YOUNGEST OF THE NEW ENGLAND STATES IN HER
CENTENNIAL YEAR

BY WILLIAM I. COLE



PORTLAND HEAD LIGHT

WHOEVER first applied to Maine the Homeric-sounding phrase "the hundred-harbored" characterized, picturesquely and aptly, this the twenty-third State of the Union. The coast of Maine, al-

though less than 200 miles long, measured in a straight line, presents through its sinuities a sea frontage of nearly 3000 miles. This fringe-like edge, moreover, is tasseled with bold promontories and rocky islands, thus affording many a fiord-like harbor, to which the islands give added protection. Indeed, between Portland and Eastport it contains a far greater number of deep and well-sheltered harbors than any other stretch of coast of equal length along the Atlantic seaboard.

A Region of Forests, Lakes, and Rivers

An even greater natural asset of Maine than its harbors are its vast forests of spruce, hemlock, balsam-fir, maple, oak, and other useful trees, huge sections of which are still practically untouched. Its primeval forests of pine, which gave to Maine the name of the Pine Tree State have unfortunately almost wholly disappeared, although partially replaced by a second growth. To-day the most abundantly growing and characteristic tree of the State is the spruce rather than the pine.

In 1846, Thoreau described the scene from the summit of Mt. Katahdin, the highest point of land in the State. "No clearing, no house," he says. "Countless lakes—Moosehead in the southwest, forty miles long by ten wide, like a gleaming silver platter at the end of the table; Chesuncook, eighteen long by three wide, without an island; Millinocket, on the south, with its hundred islands; and a hundred others with-

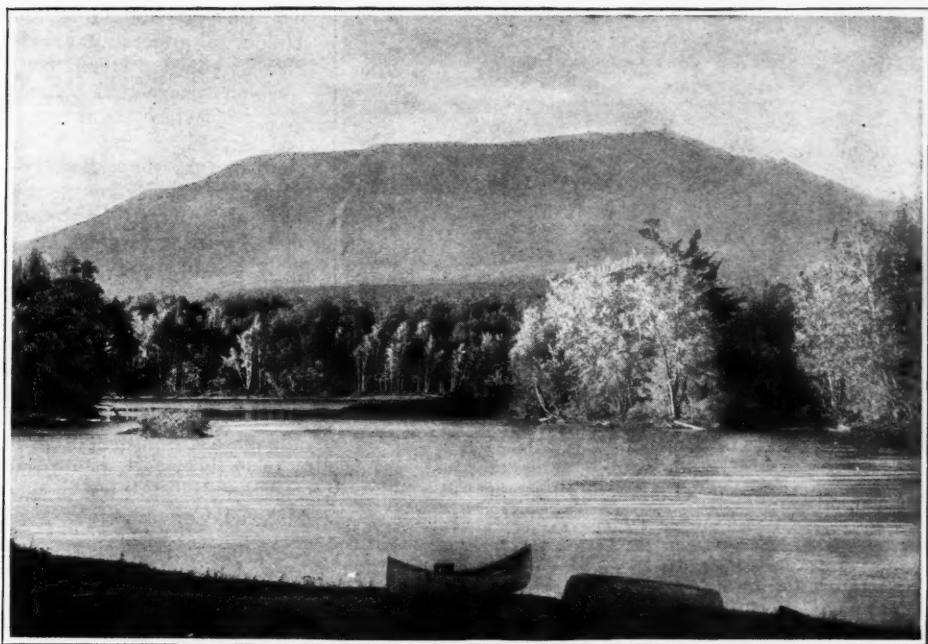
out a name; and mountains, also, whose names, for the most part, are known only to the Indians. The forest looked like a firm grass sward, and the effect of these lakes in its midst has been well compared to that of a mirror broken into a thousand fragments, and wildly scattered over the grass, reflecting the full blaze of the sun." The hermit of Walden Pond, should he return to the same spot to-day, would find the scene little changed.

Rivaling in importance its forests and harbors are the rivers of Maine. Aside from the excellent inland waterways that some of these afford, particularly the Penobscot and the Kennebec, their falls and rapids, if properly harnessed, would, so it has been estimated, do the work of 2,000,000 horses. No less important are the lakes, 1600 in number, which not only serve as reservoirs for the rivers and almost innumerable streams, which cover the State as with a piece of wide-flung lace, but contribute not a little toward making Maine what it is and long has been, a place sought more and more by nature-lovers and sportsmen. The area of the State, I might add, is only a little less than that of all the rest of New England.

Aside from its extensive quarries of granite, slate, limestone, and feldspar, Maine is not, however, especially rich in mineral resources. But one other exception should be noted—its springs of mineral waters, the repute of which is world-wide.

The Search for Norumbega

Visions of the mythical Norumbega, "with its columns of crystal and silver," lured not a few of the early discoverers to this general region, which, later, was designated in the charter of Charles I as the "Province or Countie of Mayne," because regarded as part of "the Mayne land of New England." Before the middle of the sixteenth century one and another of these explorers had sailed up the Penobscot River in search of this splendid city where, if Hakluyt in his "Principall



MOUNT KATAHDIN AT SUNSET

Navigations" is to be believed, the inhabitants wore heavy ornaments of gold, richest furs were plentiful, and rubies six inches long were a common sight. Norumbega was never found on the Penobscot or anywhere else, for it was a city of the imagination; but to the search for it was due, in a measure at least, the fact that in Maine were the historical beginnings of New England.

*Maine Colonized Before the Pilgrims
Landed*

Thirteen years before the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, a company of 120 colonists went ashore at a place near the mouth of the Kennebec and proceeded to build for themselves some fifty cabins, with storehouses, chapel and a fort. The undertaking was shortlived, to be sure, but from that time on until the establishment of the first permanent settlement within its boundaries, at Pemaquid, in 1625, Maine was not wholly without settlers—the French Jesuits on Mt. Desert, numerous fishermen associated with them on the same island, and other fishermen on the Island of Monhegan. "Welcome Englishmen," Samoset's greeting in the English tongue which so startled the newly-arrived Pilgrims at Plymouth, can be explained only by the fact that this "Lord of

Pemaquid" had had at home intercourse with Englishmen. At Monhegan, in 1622, Governor Winslow, so he tells us, found food for the suffering Pilgrims. Thus Maine was peopled, if not settled, before Massachusetts or any other part of New England, a fact for which the search for splendid but elusive Norumbega was in some measure responsible.

Maine's Independent Spirit

That Maine should, sooner, or later, be set off from Massachusetts, to which without as much as a "by your leave" it had been annexed in 1691, was inevitable. It was not an offshoot or a colony of Massachusetts, as the story of its historical beginnings shows. Then, too, the Maine people early gave evidence of a marked spirit of self-reliance and a willingness and capacity to take care of themselves. Nowhere were these traits more conspicuously shown than in the so-called first naval battle of the Revolution, which was fought in Machias Bay, an indentation of the extreme eastern coast of the State.

When the British gunboat, the *Margaretta*, convoying certain small sloops in search of lumber to be used by the British troops in Boston, sailed into this bay, the men of the vicinity, taking counsel only with them-



A SUMMER CAMP IN THE MAINE WOODS

selves, seized such weapons as were at hand, including scythes and pitchforks, and made a spirited attack upon the enemy. All the officers and members of the crew of the gunboat were killed or captured and the vessel itself was sunk. This unique victory by the men of Machias, acting on their own initiative, is commemorated to-day in the names borne by two of our naval vessels, the gunboat *Machias* and the torpedo-boat *O'Brien*—Jeremiah O'Brien having been the name of the leader in the attack.

There were also other reasons, geographical, political, social, and economic, why the separation of Maine from Massachusetts was merely a question of time. Maine was, for instance, anti-Federalist, or Democratic, and as such felt, naturally, little sympathy with Federalist Massachusetts. Perhaps, also, Maine saw in its severance from its guardian State an easy escape from the burdensome debt incurred by Massachusetts during the two wars with Great Britain. Maine people have always been thrifty-minded.

Hardly was the Revolution at an end, when Maine began to take steps toward detaching itself from Massachusetts. There is little doubt, however, that it would have been much longer than it was in achieving this purpose had not the controversy arisen over the admission of Missouri into the Union. That struggle, it will be recalled, brought about the necessity of taking one more

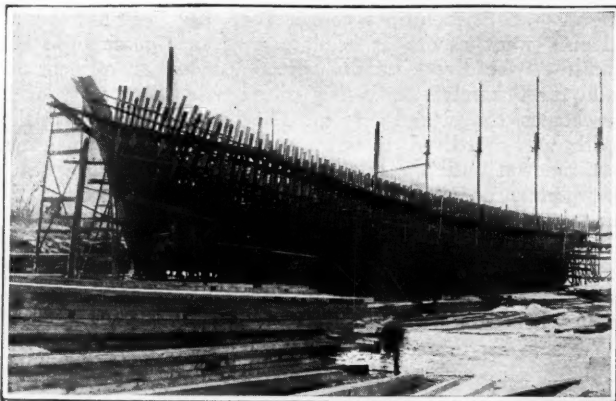
northern State into the Union to preserve the balance of power. Here, then, was an unexpected opportunity of which, as we may feel assured, Maine was not slow to take the fullest advantage; for Maine people have always been amply endowed with shrewdness. Exactly one hundred years ago its separation from Massachusetts was finally effected and Maine, erected into a State, was received into the Union. Inevitable as it was, forty years of serious although intermittent effort

were required to bring this result about; and then, when it was accomplished, it was merely a part of the Missouri Compromise! Such are often the ways of Fate!

An Industrial Community

Maine is not primarily the home of the leisure class, as the casual visitor there during the summer might hastily conclude. On the contrary, back of the pleasure-seekers of the vacation season, and partly hidden by them, is an industrious, hardworking, and thrifty people, the true population of the State. In evidence, I would cite the extent to which a few of the more important industries here are carried on, as indicated by either the value or the size of their products, according to the form in which the statistics are given.

In 1909, the last year for which the returns of the Federal census are available, the value, in round figures, of the potato



ONE OF THE WOODEN SHIPS BUILT IN MAINE YARDS DURING THE LATE WAR, THUS REVIVING A NINETEENTH-CENTURY INDUSTRY

crop was \$10,000,000; of forest and lumber products, \$5,500,000; of shipbuilding \$3,000,000; of granite quarried \$2,000,000; and of sardines canned, \$4,500,000. The value of manufactured goods of every sort during the year was \$175,000,000. This huge amount includes the value of more than half a million tons of paper and wood pulp turned out. Measured by the value of its product, the manufacture of paper and wood pulp is the second largest industry in the State, the first being that related to the manufacture of lumber and timber. All of these values would, of course, be enormously enhanced to-day by the great increases in price, even if the amounts of the products remained the same. What, for instance, would more than half a million tons of paper and wood pulp be worth at the present time, in view of the current prices for finished paper? The imagination is almost staggered by the possible answer!

In the raising of potatoes, Maine stands fifth among the States of the Union. Its normal potato crop is now about 30,000,000 bushels. Up-to-date methods of planting, cultivation, and harvesting are employed. With the prices of potatoes at their present levels there would seem to be little difference between a Maine potato farm and an African diamond mine!

A Maine product of peculiar interest, inasmuch as it is the product of a State that for more than half a century has led the way in prohibition, is its mineral waters, of which more than a million gallons are sold every year. The amount of money represented by this traffic I will leave to the imagination of anyone who has purchased a bottle of the most famous of those waters! Let me not seem to imply that Maine's efforts to snatch from the lips of the world the cup that cheers and inebriates were with a view to substituting for it so huge a bumper of its own purest water—at a price! I am merely directing attention to an interesting coincidence!

This story of Maine's industries is far from complete. Indeed, it is merely a few striking fragments of the whole story. But partial as it is, it should serve to convince one that in Maine somebody works. If the complete story were told, the story which includes the production of ice and hay, the canning industry, the fisheries, and all the rest, one could hardly escape the conclusion that inasmuch as the entire population of the State is hardly more than that of the



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HON. CARL E. MILLIKEN
(Governor of Maine since 1917)

City of Boston at the present time, everybody here must work, not even excepting "father"!

A Progressive State

Ability to think and act for themselves is, as I have said, a marked trait of the Maine people. Along with it and equally pronounced is progressiveness. *Dirigo*, "I lead," the motto of the State, is singularly appropriate. Outcroppings of this trait are to be seen on every hand.

Seventy years before the Eighteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution was adopted, Maine was experimenting with its first liquor law. Indeed, in liquor legislation Maine has been so much of a pioneer that now the "Maine law" is synonymous with a prohibitory law.

Although not a forerunner to the same extent in other legislation, Maine has kept its laws well up to date. It is one of the five States that has abolished capital punishment. It has a State Board of Arbitration to deal with labor disputes, a Department of Labor and Industry, a Commission of Charities and Correction, anti-trust and public utilities acts, a child-labor law, a pure-food act, and the initiative and referendum.

In the matter of women's suffrage, Maine has indeed been somewhat laggard, although

it has ratified the proposed Nineteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, but in much of its legislation affecting women it is second to no State in the Union. Here, for instance, a wife may hold real and personal property apart from her husband and may convey either or both by will. Another legal privilege that a wife here enjoys is that of paying her own debts; for, in Maine, husbands cannot be sued for debts contracted by their wives under their own names. Thus in this State husbands enjoy a degree of emancipation as well as their wives!

Modern Farming Methods

A visit to some of the larger and more up-to-date farms, such as are to be found especially in Aroostook County, would be an object-lesson in the progressiveness of the Maine people. Here one would find the latest devices in agricultural machinery—potato-planters, hay-loaders, reapers and binders, potato-diggers, and, last but not least, tractors. The farmers themselves that he met on the road would be riding in automobiles, not always "flivvers" either, but often Pierce-Arrows and Franklins. He would find also the latest devices in methods as well as in machinery. "I suppose you can grow potatoes of any size wanted," I said in jest to a potato raiser, who had remarked casually that the demand at that time seemed to be for medium-sized potatoes. "Yes," he replied seriously, "I can. I do it by spacing the seed-potatoes. If I want large potatoes, I put the plantings quite far apart; if small ones, near together." Unfortunately, Maine farmers are also adopting modern methods of another and less desirable sort. They are too prone, for instance, to mortgage future crops to secure money not only for seed, fertilizer, and machinery, but for automobiles and talking-machines. Let there come poor harvests, and disaster is almost certain to follow.

Yankee Traits

In literacy, Maine stands not far from the first among the States of the Union. According to the census of 1910, out of every one hundred persons here ten years of age or over, only a trifle more than four are unable to read and write. Among the native-born of native parentage the number of illiterates is much smaller, in fact, less than one and one-half out of every hundred.

Bound up in the same bundle with self-reliance and progressiveness are various other

well-defined traits of the Maine people—ingenuity, shrewdness, ambition to get on, a dry sense of humor, honesty, thoroughness, and respect for law. I single out only one for special mention and that is thoroughness.

General Sherman on his march to the sea was accosted, so the story runs, by a Southern farmer who complained bitterly of the depredations of the Yankee soldiers. "They have taken my horses," he said, "burned my fences, in fact, stripped me of everything that I possess except my hope of immortality; but, thank God, no one can take that."

"I am not so sure," General Sherman replied, "the—Maine has not come along yet!" Even in the work of pillage, Maine people are thorough!

To be sure these are general Yankee traits and not the exclusive possession of the people of the Pine Tree State. But that is only another way of saying that the Maine people are Yankees. The Maine people are, indeed, Yankees, the Yankees of Yankees. But they are also something else. What that something else is cannot easily be stated. Perhaps it is a consciousness of efficiency, which gives a certain poise and assurance. Perhaps it is merely an underlying horse-sense, which would have much the same effect. But whatever its nature, it is real and easily sensed. It is popularly spoken of as "the Maine" in its possessors. The facetious remark relative to the graduates of a certain great university that you can always tell a —man, but "you can't tell him much," is at least a half-truth in the case of the people of Maine. You can always tell a Maine man or woman, however much or little you are able to tell them. There is a Maine type.

Maine's Human Output

All the Maine people are not in Maine. Indeed, I feel safe in saying that Maine as no other State, has sent out its sons and daughters, singly, in groups, and in colonies, to settle elsewhere. Transplanted Maine, if all its scattered parts could be brought together, would constitute a population not so very incomparable in size with that of the home State. Maine people have followed the flag everywhere, sometimes carrying the flag with them as in the case of recent arctic explorations. The name is legion of the social organizations of Maine-born people in places near and far outside the boundaries of the State. Minneapolis is to a very considerable extent a Maine city. Nor have the Maine-born restricted



A STEAM LOG HAULER DRAWING A LOAD OF 120 TONS IN THE MAINE FORESTS

the range of their hegiras to this country or this continent. The most famous guide for many years in Palestine was a Maine-born man. I recall the American dentist in Constantinople who, in the course of a conversation, dropped the remark that he had come from Skowhegan, Maine. On Maine people, as on England, "the sun never sets." Indeed, the people of Maine have wandered so freely beyond their native boundaries, that one seeing only their numbers abroad might well wonder if anyone could be left "back home."

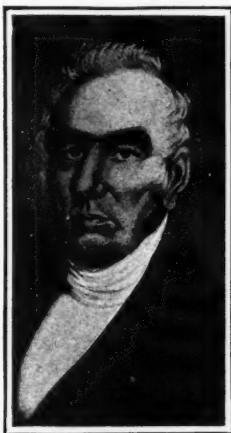
If I were asked what is the greatest product of Maine, I would answer without hesitation, "Its eminent sons and daughters." These are, of course, a product whose importance cannot be stated in dollars and cents but only in terms of spiritual value. Let anyone follow back to their native lairs the statesmen, writers, inventors, merchants, philanthropists, educators, military leaders, theologians, journalists, artists, jurists, actors, and "captains of industry," past and present, whose names occurred to him the most readily, and he will be surprised to find how many of them take him to Maine.

Hannibal Hamlin, John D. Long,

Thomas B. Reed, Roswell D. Hitchcock, Samuel Harris and his nephew George Harris, Egbert C. Smythe and his brother Newman Smythe, Henry W. Longfellow, George Hillard, John S. C. Abbott, N. P.

Willis, Elijah Kellogg, Harriet Prescott Spofford, Annie Louise Cary, Lillian Norton, known on the stage as Lillian Nordica; Sarah Orne Jewett, Kate Douglas Wiggin, Frederic P. Vinton, Lillian M. N. Stevens, Sol Smith Russell, Marcella Crafts, Maxine Elliott and her sister, Gertrude Elliott; Arlo Bates, Holman Day, Eben D. Jordan, Jacob Sleeper, Hiram Maxim, Dorothea L. Dix, Charles F. Thwing, "Artemus Ward," Oliver O. Howard—these are only a few of the Maine men and women, jotted down almost at random, who have achieved far more than ordinary distinction in some line of human thought and endeavor. To the same goodly company belong

Melville W. Fuller, for twenty-two years Chief Justice of the United States; Edward P. Mitchell, editor of the New York *Sun*; John Knowles Paine, musical composer; James R. Day, university chancellor; Frank A. Munsey, publisher; Donald B. MacMillan, arctic explorer; Samuel V. Cole, college president and poet; H. W. Savage



WILLIAM KING

(First Governor of Maine, after its admission as a State on March 15, 1820)

and Edward F. Albee, theatrical managers, and many another. The rivers of genius have watered Maine no less abundantly than its lace-work of natural rivers and streams.

These and the host of others who belong in the same category, represent an output of brains and brawn, of moral courage and physical daring, high moral ideals, patriotic endeavor, and noble aspiration, which, could it be rendered in terms of dollars and cents, would far exceed in value Maine's output in granite and lumber, of ice and potatoes, great as that is. Maine is first of all a producer of men and women.

The Mecca of Vacation-Seekers

Much might be said of Maine as a rest resort and the paradise of the hunter and fisherman. Here, in ever increasing numbers, the "tired business man," that object of special solicitude on the part of the theatrical manager, comes with his family; and in hotel, cottage, or camp, on the seacoast or by river or lake, or in the "silent places" of the great woods, finds healthful change and relief. While the wicked may not cease altogether from troubling, the weary man can be, relatively at least, at rest. For the sports-

men, Maine is superabounding in allurements. There are wild geese, woodcock quail, plover, partridge, and almost every kind of duck found in North America in the heavens above—at greater or less elevations; moose, deer, bear, and rabbits, on the earth beneath; and trout, bass, togue and salmon in the waters under the earth. Not far from 2800 licenses for hunting have been issued to non-residents in a single year, while the multitude coming into the State annually to try "fisherman's luck," no man can number. It is estimated that fully a half-million of people visit Maine every year for purposes of recreation or sport—a total that is two-thirds that of the State's entire population.

But Maine welcomes all comers, its returning sons and daughters and the stranger alike, and gives them access to all of its best. Its latch-string is always out; and at this time when it is celebrating the completion of one hundred years of Statehood, those who have ever enjoyed its hospitality will join with its absentee sons and daughters, its children at home, and all its friends everywhere, in wishing it health and prosperity for centuries to come.

Hail, "hundred-harbored Maine"!



A MAINE POTATO FARM WITH A DIGGING MACHINE AT WORK

CANADA AND THE WEST INDIES

WILL THEY FORM A POLITICAL UNION?

BY SIR PATRICK THOMAS McGRATH

(Member of the Legislative Council of Newfoundland)

ON June 1 a conference opened at Ottawa between representatives of the Canadian Government and those of the British possessions in and near the Caribbean Sea. These comprehend the West India Islands of Bermuda Bahamas, Jamaica, Barbados, Leeward Archipelago (Antigua, St. Kitts, Dominica, Montserrat, etc.), Windward Archipelago (Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, etc.), Trinidad, and Tobago, with British Honduras and British Guiana on the mainland. The total area of these possessions is about 120,000 square miles and their population is about 2,500,000.

The objects of this conference are to promote (a) better communication, transport, and cable facilities, and (b) trade relations. The expectation is to enlarge the trade between Canada and these countries by an extension of the existing preferential tariff agreement reached at a similar conference in 1912 for a period of ten years, and at the same time to lay the foundation for a closer political understanding, if possible.

British Islands and Uncle Sam

Special interest in the British West Indies has been aroused recently as a result of the advocacy during the past few months by Lord Rothermere of England, ex-Secretary McAdoo and Senator Kenyon of the United States, and various writers and speakers of both nations of the proposition that Great Britain sell these islands to the United States as part of a plan for reducing her financial obligations to that country. These proposals evoked from the Prince of Wales, when at Barbados recently, on his way through the Panama Canal to visit Australia, the reply that "His Majesty's subjects are not for sale" and from somewhat cynical commentators the observation, in view of President Wilson's advocacy of "self-determination" for subject peoples, that the proposal is one that America could not well approve.

At the same time, there is no doubt that, from a trade point of view, the drift of these

islands towards the United States is steadily increasing and that if existing conditions continue for a few years longer their commerce will be almost entirely with the American Republic. The social and commercial intercourse of all the Caribbean countries is such that they are likely to pass almost entirely ere long into the possession or under the control of the United States or Great Britain, as America now dominates Cuba and Porto Rico, recently purchased the Danish possessions there known as the Virgin Islands, is said to be negotiating for the purchase of Dutch Guiana, and will probably ere long exercise complete control over Haiti and San Domingo, inasmuch as the American Government now collects the customs revenues and maintains armed forces on the island which comprises these two republics. Britain, on her part, is said to hope for the acquisition of the small French and Dutch Islands in the Caribbean Sea, and the sentiment of the islanders themselves, according to most visitors, is for association with one or other of the nations speaking the English tongue and forming the chief market for the commodities of these tropical areas.

Our Trade Interest

The principal products of the British West Indies are sugar, coffee, bananas, oranges, rum, and cotton; and the exports of these to Britain annually total about \$35,000,000. The imports are mainly wearing apparel, soap, manures, machinery, and manufactures of iron and steel, of which the motherland supplies about \$15,000,000 worth. Canada enjoys but a small share of their trade although offering a rich and growing market therefor, and it is to improve this condition that the conference was called.

America is steadily increasing her trade interest in these islands because of her proximity to them and the variety of the resources which she can furnish to the several communities, they in turn exporting most of their natural products to the American markets.

At the present time a 20 per cent. preference in tariff exists as between Canada and the British West Indies, but despite this a leading student of the problem declares "that for every dollar's worth of goods the United States purchases from British Guiana, the latter country buys \$7.27 worth from the United States, while with regard to Canada the position is that for every dollar's worth Canada purchases from British Guiana the latter only buys forty-one cents' worth in return." This is more or less the position of the other colonies as well, and Chief Justice Rowan Hamilton, of the Leeward Islands, was recently quoted to the effect that annexation either to Canada or the United States must ultimately ensue.

Political Relations of the Colonies

The position of these West India colonies to-day, in their political relations with Great Britain, is somewhat similar to that of the American Colonies before they combined and secured their independence, or that of the Canadian, Australian, and South African colonies before they united into the federacies which they embody to-day. Canada formed such a union half a century ago and abundantly proved its advantages; Australia followed twenty years back, and South Africa's union was effected within the past decade. Each of the West Indian Colonies is distinct apart from the others, with its administrative and legislative machinery adapted to its special circumstances, and it deals directly with the "Colonial Office" in London, the popular designation of "the Department of the Secretary of State for the Colonies," which exercises jurisdiction over all the overseas possessions of the British Empire.

These West India territories are the only group out of all the British dependencies not integrated, and to-day, when new unions are being born in the Old World and when Canada, Australia, etc., are being recognized as full-fledged states, conditions are bringing home to the West India Islands the disadvantages of their several isolations and a political step forward by them is to be expected.

Proposed Commercial Union with Canada

Such a step can be in three directions: the formation of a confederacy among themselves, their absorption by Canada, or their annexation by the United States. The former is not considered feasible by the

closest observers, because it is believed the islands could not "stand on their own feet," politically and commercially, owing to the vast preponderance of the colored population, backward in these respects as such communities are everywhere. Advocacy of closer association with Canada takes two forms. One is that in regard to trade matters there should be a commercial union between Canada and the West Indies, such as exists between the United States and Porto Rico, with a 50 per cent. preference for British imports entering the West India Islands, and a general tariff as against all other countries. The argument in support of this proposal is that, as a result of the commercial union between the United States and Porto Rico, with no tariff either on imports or exports of goods passing between them, and the full American tariff imposed on everything imported into Porto Rico from elsewhere, the exports of Porto Rico have grown in twenty years from \$8,000,000 to \$74,000,000, and the imports from \$9,000,000 to \$63,000,000.

Difficulties of Political Union

The second phase of a Canadian alliance is a constitutional union or the acquisition of the West India Islands, though it is recognized that grave difficulties exist in the way of making this complete in every detail. Among the chief obstacles urged against Canada's acquiring these islands as a territorial appanage are that this would (a) import into Canadian politics a color question in addition to the race and religious issue which the French of Quebec now constitute; (b) bring into existence a naval-defense problem for Canada of a new and acute form; and (c) involve the creation of administrative machinery and ruling classes for regions thousands of miles from the seat of government.

As to the political phase of the subject it is noted that if full autonomy were granted to the West Indies, the great majority of whose people are of the colored races, it might mean that the political destinies of Canada would be determined at some future date by the outcome of an election in these possessions, and a saving clause is therefore suggested by which the people of these islands would not enjoy a full "Dominion" franchise, but might be represented in the Canadian Senate by men of white or colored blood living in the Islands and brought to Ottawa to serve as their mouthpiece.

The naval phase of the subject is that Canada would have to assume the naval obligations which Britain now shoulders as far as the West Indies and the adjacent Atlantic are concerned. Something like \$25,000,000 a year would be required to take over Britain's naval duties in the Western Atlantic. Much of this money would be over and above whatever may be proposed, under existing conditions, as adequate for the Atlantic defense of Canada.

The administrative aspect of the matter is that Britain has created, as a result of centuries of experience in the governing of overseas territories, special classes of officials who have achieved results in that regard such as no other nation has yet attained, and it is men of this type who direct affairs in these West India Islands at the present time; and the traditions and records of the service are such that there is greater assurance for the well-being of the subject peoples under this form of administration than under any experimental machinery which Canada might devise. There is also the fact that Canada is a vast country, only partly populated even now, seeking population from Europe for the filling of its own vacant spaces and having in its own problems ample work for all desirous of improving the status of government within that Dominion. The acceptance, therefore, of virtual sovereignty over the West India Islands, thousands of miles away, populated mainly by people of color and vulnerable to any assailant enjoying even temporary control of the seas, is a proposition at which even the most imperialistic statesman might look askance.

Arguments for American Acquisition

The United States in the matter of the acquisition of the British West India Islands has the advantages of (a) proximity, (b) growing trade, intercourse, (c) familiarity with the "color" problem because of its Southern States, (d) an adequate navy to undertake the defense of the islands and (e) a national ascendancy in the region where these territories are situated. To realize the advantages proximity affords, one has only to look at the map, for the various southern ports of the United States afford the nearest and cheapest way of reaching the islands and would enable the problems of their administration and progress to be solved with the least difficulty.

Regarding the trade problem the imports of agricultural products and manufactured

goods into the British West India Islands last year were valued at about seventy million dollars, of which Canada furnished only 10 per cent., while of Canada's imports of tropical products, totaling about \$110,000,000, only one-fourth came direct from the West Indies, the remainder coming through the United States, and paying toll to American traders, as well as helping to maintain the exchange barrier at its highest level, to the general detriment of Canada. Of the exports from the British West Indies, reaching some sixty-five million dollars per year, Canada takes at present only about twenty-two million dollars' worth, much of the remainder going to the United States, while the latter nation has actually a larger trade with the West India Islands (under all flags) than with the whole of South America or with China, though the latter has 400,000,000 people.

A side light on the commercial situation is thrown by the fact that these various West India Islands are unwilling, individually, to take any action tending towards a closer accord with Canada, fearing retaliation by the United States. For instance, Jamaica, while accepting, with the other islands, the 20 per cent. preference for her exports to Canada, which the latter's tariff provides, declines to give a corresponding preference to Canada's imports into Jamaica lest America retort by a discriminating tariff on Jamaican bananas, sugar, and other products, arguing that 70 per cent. of Jamaica's trade is conducted with the United States and that the volume and value thereof are steadily increasing.

At the same time it is not to be seriously supposed that Britain and Canada will allow the West Indies to pass under another flag without exhausting every effort to retain them. The strategic value of some of these islands, such as Bermuda and Jamaica, is very great; and may become still greater in future years. The islands have been associated with some of the greatest naval exploits of the Empire and they furnish a substantial market for British products. Canada, too, has in them an assured market for certain of her products and could to-morrow absorb the entire sugar production of the group—about 300,000 tons. It is urged that the New Canadian Government Merchant Marine, a fleet of state-owned and state-operated steamships, which will soon total seventy bottoms, should be utilized to develop trade with the West Indies.

"DIRECT ACTION" ON CONGRESS

NEW FORMS OF ORGANIZED PROPAGANDA AT WASHINGTON

BY GEORGE PERRY MORRIS

A CONSERVATIVE Republican Congressman who has sat almost continuously in the lawmaking body since 1874 and a progressive Republican Congressman serving his first term were two of a group recently assembled in a Washington club to dine and talk about affairs national and international, terrestrial and celestial, utilitarian and idealistic. The veteran and the neophyte disagreed on almost all subjects but one, namely, the moral cowardice of the rank and file of Congressmen. "On a viva voce vote, they register one opinion; on an aye and nay vote they will instantly reverse their positions," they agreed in saying.

A plain civilian noting their sole topic of agreement, asked whether what was described by them as "cowardice" was surprising in view of the altering conditions of lawmaking, the much increased pressure which the lawmaker has to resist, and the highly developed punitive mechanism which competing groups of "interests" have developed. These they use in punishing Congressmen and Senators if they run counter to their demands. He also had the temerity to ask whether society had been deliberately training men for lawmaking or executive positions who had the ethical insight and moral will sufficient to resist the newer forms of group pressure. For in passing let it be said that Presidents, as well as Senators, are complaisant.

Increasing Group Influence

This incident garnered from a modest post-prandial "matching of minds" would not be quite complete without this additional statement, namely, that the veteran lawmaker admitted "on the side" for the benefit of the civilian's inquisitive mind, that he, the civilian, was quite right; that laws were now largely shaped by forces with their group headquarters ever multiplying in the capital; that the legislator of to-day does tend to become more and more the object of a group competition fiercer than he is trained to re-

sist; and that consequently the record of diminishing legislative initiative and independence of thought and action makes steadily for waning prestige of Congress as over against the executive.

Headquarters of All "the Interests"

No extra-constitutional, informally tolerated and yet formally questioned phase of practical political reconstruction is going on now comparable in significance with the planting at the nation's political center of the administrative headquarters of the "interests," whether capitalistic or proletarian, agricultural or industrial, educational or philanthropic, commercial or scientific. Millions of dollars already have been invested in elegant quarters, and more are to follow. The scale of expenditure for plant and "staff" is generous; indeed it excites the wonder of foreigners—as for instance the American Federation of Labor's headquarters and the reactions of delegates to the recent International Labor Conference of the League of Nations, who inspected it and were profoundly impressed.

Multifarious "Causes"

By assessment of thousands of organization members it is possible to plan for ornate, imposing, capacious buildings, and then use them for administrative propaganda and conference purposes. They have ample supplies of literature, and card-indexed records of the careers, morals, investments and even the private hobbies and secret passions of public men of to-day and to-morrow. Their permanent administrators are expert men drawn from the field who have proved their capacity working in State or local campaigns. Sometimes it is equal suffrage for women they want, sometimes prohibition of the liquor traffic, sometimes new rates of pay as public employees, sometimes larger appropriations for the Department of Labor or the Department of Agriculture, and occasionally they desire ampler appropriations,

and a higher status for educational institutions under federal control or receiving federal aid. Last, but not least, signs appear of coming national headquarters of sects of religion and of race propagandists.

How the New System Works

The point is that with such headquarters steadily maintained and so managed, the older sporadic, hit-or-miss forms of lobbying, of bringing influence to bear on lawmakers, have passed into comparative "innocuous desuetude." These "group" officials appear on Capitol Hill not to persuade but to command, not to bribe but to name the number of thousands or millions of votes they command. If the legislator asks for evidence that what they ask for is really the willed purpose of the organizations they say that they represent, then they produce the collated results of replies to questionnaires sent out to the rank and file. "Here," says one, "is the collective demand of my crowd with an estimated voting strength of two million electors, mainly men who work on farms." "Here," says another, "is my group's minimum desire; we control millions of newly enfranchised women voters." "This is what more than one thousand Chambers of Commerce, voting specifically on the issue before you, want," say the officials of the Chamber of Commerce of America. "The National Education Association, which has 10,000 members plus, at its last convention declared in favor of this policy relative to a Department of Education," say the spokesmen of the publicly-supported educational system of the country.

Thus the new system registers its opinions, and it goes on working while Senators and Congressmen come and go. Some depart because they die; others because they collide with the "system." For the complex articulation of the new order of things, with its headquarters in Washington and the close watch it keeps upon lawmakers' votes and speeches, builds up a power of "direct action" against any independent, recalcitrant lawmaker, a power that reaches to the nation's physical bounds.

In the old days if a lawmaker defied an "interest," whether good or bad in kind, he might retain his seat by an appeal to a local constituency that agreed with him. He now is beginning to incur the penalty of a home attack by treasuries as deep as the nation is wide; and he or she is compelled to fight organizations that are tempted to think more

and more in terms of sex, class or "cause" propaganda and victory.

Dependence on Special Commissions

To a Washingtonian without the official circle who is studying the trends of governmental activity as objectively as possible there is another change that the twentieth century has wrought, much accentuated by the necessities of the war. It also is working steadily against the prestige of Congress. That trend is the increasing disposition to transfer at least the preliminary stages of investigation of acute national problems, not as of old to special congressional committees, but either to permanent commissions with the status of bureaus in the executive departments or to commissions appointed for specific tasks, the verdicts of which are given wide publicity when submitted to the executive and upon which he has the right, frequently exercised, to comment ere the findings come to Congress for use in shaping new law.

The contrast between the celerity of action of these special commissions, their resort to expert testimony and the dispassionate and judicial character of their reports, as over against the delays of the usual congressional committee investigation, the too frequent partisan character of its report or reports, and the more or less concealed contempt of many lawmakers for evidence of specialists in taxation, transportation or education, does two things. It helps confirm the rapidly growing habit of reliance on permanent and special commissions, and it works against public confidence in the fairmindedness and "modernity" of lawmakers. They, of course, still open or shut the Treasury purse and they give final statutory form to so much of the commissions' recommendations as they accept. But the public is not oblivious of the fact that *real* power is passing. Administrative law meantime also waxes in volume and prestige, here as in Europe.

How Legislation Figures in the Day's News

The situation now discernible cannot be even dealt with in the most superficial and casual manner, which is all that is here attempted, without some reference to the relative amount of space given by the press of the country in normal times to news and opinion emanating from the Capitol on the Hill and from the White House and the Executive Departments. During the prolonged, intense, embittered and often dra-

matic debate on the Treaty and League Covenant there has been a return to something approximating adequate journalistic reporting of the proceedings of the Senate and the House. Once more electors have had material furnished them enabling them to decide for themselves as to the ideals and calibre of their lawmakers, a process essential in any democracy resting fundamentally on educated, reasoned public opinion for its operations. But under ordinary conditions our voters do not get these data as completely as their fathers did, or as English voters do now.

Nor is the Washington correspondence of this era, distributed by the news agencies or by special correspondents, as critically interpretative of men and measures as it used to be or as it should be. Neutrality is essential to the service furnished by the one vehicle of information. Independence of thought is not encouraged by the other, the correspondent now taking the "tip" from the main office in Chicago or New York and not the editor getting his cue from comparative study of disinterested, fair correspondents' comments at the Capitol.

The Demand for Group Representation

At the same time from the "news" standpoint the White House and the Executive Departments, under the régimes of Roosevelt and Wilson, have steadily won their way to a large amount of space, relatively considered, in the by no means increased number of columns available for Washington news, which have become fewer under recent conditions of newspaper production. Here is another cause for the decline of interest in the lawmaking body. Ignorance breeds indifference. The phenomena hinted at above, it should be said, are not peculiar to the United States and in all the phases mentioned have been visible for some time past in Europe. We probably have carried to a limit not equalled there the administrative, technical perfection of "group" organization arrayed to influence legislation; and this thanks to our extraordinary capacity for voluntary organization of widely distributed units carried out on a national scale—an art which had its supreme manifestation during the war.

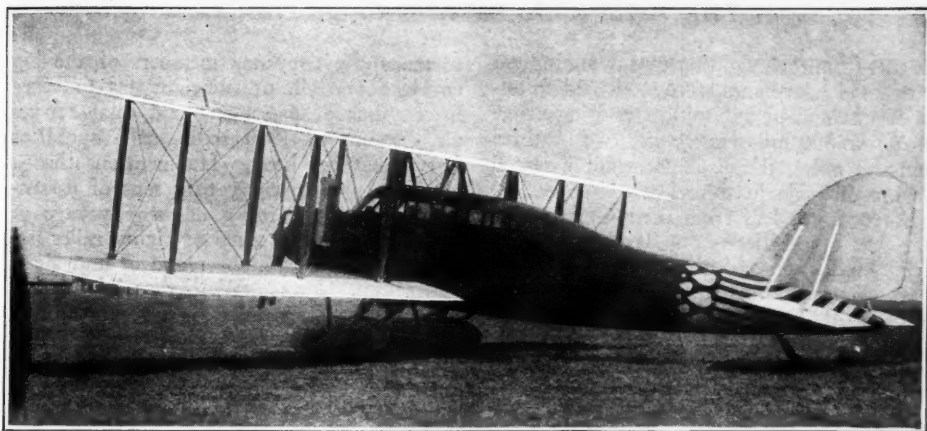
No one can contemplate the significance of the broad movement of affairs now visible in Washington without wondering how far such facts make for loss of confidence in the historic two-party theory of government which we took over from our British political teachers, and what effect the changes will have in creating a demand for distinct group representation in the lawmaking body as a substitute for the present traditional system based on arbitrary, geographical areas, meaningless in themselves, but still having, of course, much sentiment attaching to them. To change the system will call for a contest with this sentiment of local pride.

A younger school of French, British, and American writers on political science, long before Lenine was heard of or the Soviet form of government began functioning in Russia, assigned the breakdown of legislative prestige throughout the world chiefly to the unreality of a system which in theory imposes upon the lawmaker the duty of representing all his constituents with equal loyalty, when, as a matter of fact, his speeches and his votes usually show him to be unequal to his difficult task.

Nor does the demand for such a change come from radicals alone. Even conservative capitalism is squinting its eyes toward a system which would enable it to pit its ablest men openly against the increasingly able and trained champions of anti-capitalism who are being swept into lawmaking bodies by the present trend of events at home and abroad.

Progressives who argue for more representation of specialists in the executive department of government can scarcely escape the logic of the demand for a lawmaking body similarly constituted, one in which education as education, scientific research as such, banking, transportation, agriculture, sanitation and public health, manufacturing, and labor would be recognized and be represented by spokesmen speaking with authority on proposed legislation affecting their respective group interests. As President Cleveland remarked, it is a condition and not a theory which is facing the old and the new democracies; and America's past record is one of political realism, not of French or Teuton doctrinarianism.





A MODERN PASSENGER-CARRYING AIRPLANE

(This is an aerial limousine, with accommodations for eight passengers. Larger machines are far more expensive to operate, and deteriorate rapidly. The cabin of this airplane is luxuriously furnished—see illustration on second page following. This Curtiss "Eagle" is driven by three 150-horsepower engines. In two months it flew 4400 miles and carried 943 passengers with a perfect record)

SHALL WE FLY TO-MORROW ?

A Frank Discussion of the Status of Aerial Travel and Cargo-Carrying, and of What May Be Expected of the Near Future

BY AUSTIN C. LESCARBOURA

(Managing Editor, *Scientific American*)

WHERE are those airplane and airship transportation systems that were to be born out of the great aerial efforts of the war? Surely that question deserves to be asked, in view of the many prophecies made during the war regarding the conversion of much of the military flying equipment into peace-time carriers. And since those airplane and airship transportation systems are conspicuous by their absence, the obvious question that follows is: What has happened to the commercial airplane and dirigible and why?

The story of the war is too well known to require much elaboration here, in which we are mainly concerned with the aerial end of the big scrap. Suffice it to remind ourselves of the fact that the airplane, and to a lesser extent the dirigible, benefited to a tremendous degree by the war. And why not? Germany and the Allies were pitted against each other for the mastery of the air; and to be master on high was to dominate down below, for that is the way modern battles go. Naturally, each side mustered its best aviation experts; every facility was placed at their disposal; expense was the last

consideration. Whereas aviation experts had formerly to struggle along with crude equipment, if any, and with little money, they now found themselves provided with everything necessary to realize their every plan. And so there came the wonderfully efficient machines of to-day, ranging from the tiny single-seater with a speed of 150 miles per hour and a climb of over 1000 feet per minute to the 80-mile-per-hour passenger-carrying plane which flies with a three-ton load.

Dirigible vs. Airplane

In war the dirigible had a peculiar experience. The Germans, who for years had been piling up a fleet of Zeppelins for the coming war, tried their aerial giants on the battlefields during the early days. The result was that these lumbering targets were shot down one by one. Then the Germans turned their Zeppelins over to their Navy, and immediately they gave their Admirals a tremendous advantage over the British and Allied fleets. For it is a fact that an airship, flying several thousand feet aloft, has a visual range of eighty miles! The British, scanning

the seas from their fighting tops, were limited to twenty! Airplanes were soon used to offset this handicap; but with a cruising range of 200 or 300 miles as against two or three thousand miles, the airplane is not a match for the dirigible in this class of work.

Borrowing a leaf from their German opponents, the Allies soon developed small dirigibles, known as "Blimps," which served to good stead as naval scouts, particularly in the anti-U-boat campaign.

Peace-time flying is an entirely different proposition from military flying. In the first place, expense—first cost and operating expenses—is a very serious consideration. Speed, while important, is not the very quintessence of the contract, as it is in military flying. Weight-carrying, which in military machines did not count for so very much except in the very large bombers, is a prime consideration with the peace-time flier. So with speed relegated to second place and weight-carrying and low costs the main essentials, the airplane must needs give way to the airship, on theoretical grounds, at least.

The dirigible is really a ship that sails in air. It floats in that medium, whereas an airplane does not. If the dirigible's motors fail, the dirigible merely floats along just as a steamer drifts with the tide and current. If an airplane's motors fail, it drops—and drops fast; its aerial buoyancy exists only while its propellers are churning the air and pulling or pushing it through the air at express-train speeds. Hence the reason why the dirigible, since its engines do not have to do more than to move it along as against the airplane engines which must first lift the load and sustain it in air and then supply additional power for forward propulsion, is a carrier of great loads.

A British airship designer recently amused himself by making plans for an aerial greyhound. He brought into his calculations all the experience of the great British dirigible, such as the R-34, which crossed the Atlantic both ways last summer, as well as good sound engineering sense which takes little if anything for granted. Here is what he developed—on paper—as the aerial greyhound of the near future.

A cigar-shaped hull 800 feet in length, with the passenger cabins, saloon and deck along part of the top of the bag, envelope or hull, the pilot's house below at the forward end, and an observation car below at the rear end. He figured on 3,500,000 cubic feet of gas for the many gas bags going

to make the buoyancy members of the big envelope or hull, or sufficient gas to carry fifteen tons of passengers and mail for an air distance of 4800 miles, at a speed of sixty miles per hour. He mentions that a rigid dirigible to carry fifty tons of passengers and freight for a non-stop voyage of 10,000 miles, at a speed of eighty miles per hour, is well within the realm of immediate realization. Fare? Well, that is a matter largely of capital invested and the business conditions in general. Our British friend puts the fare at \$250 per passenger for the trip between London and New York, which figures out about 8 cents per mile. Mail could be transported for six cents per ounce. The time required would be two and a half days.

Now our engineer friend goes even further. As a dirigible enthusiast he quite rightly makes a comparison there and then with the airplane, which, of course, is at a keen disadvantage when the question is one of long distance, low costs, and moderate speed. The airplane of huge type could be used for the trans-Atlantic crossing, he assures us, but it would be necessary to make stops in Ireland and Newfoundland for replenishment of fuel and thorough inspection and tuning. The passenger rate for the same journey by airplane would figure out in the neighborhood of \$575 per passenger, or 16 cents per mile, while mail would cost 15 cents per ounce.

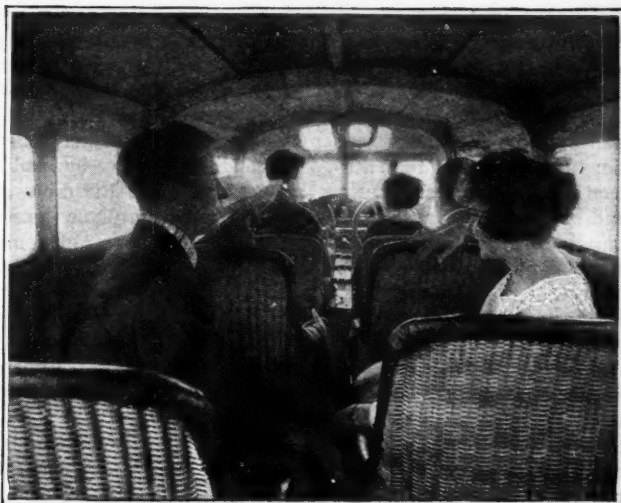
So far so good. But the dirigible, under the stern light of practical application, shows up in somewhat different colors. In the first place it represents a huge outlay as compared with a flock of airplanes aggregating the same carrying capacity. Its housing calls for a heavy expenditure and a large landing field. A considerable force of mechanics and a landing crew are constantly required.

As for the matter of safety, there isn't much to choose between airship and airplane. Despite all that has been said regarding the non-inflammable gas available for balloons—helium—the lighter-than-air craft still make use of highly inflammable hydrogen. All airships in everyday use are filled with hydrogen. When air is mixed with hydrogen, a highly-explosive and inflammable atmosphere is created. The slightest spark will cause a violent explosion; in fact, several of the early Zeppelins were destroyed by small sparks, due to the engines, static electricity of the air, and perhaps the wireless equipment of those days.

Of course, aside from an explosion or an encounter with a gale, the dirigible is fairly safe. Precautions are taken in every way possible to prevent a conflagration of the hydrogen; but nevertheless one can hardly travel with a free mind when one knows that but twenty-five or fifty feet above is a vast store of potential explosive which requires only a small leak to admit air and some sort of spark or flame. The new gas, helium, developed during the war, is non-inflammable and about 90 per cent. as buoyant as hydrogen, which means that it is an excellent substitute for practical purposes. Until now, however, helium has been produced in very small quantities only; and three and a half million cubic feet of gas is an order that can hardly be handled in the laboratory!

The airplane, on the other hand, drops when its motors fail. But it is compact, presents less surface to the wind, has more power and speed to combat strong winds, requires small housing accommodations, does away with a large corps of mechanics and ground crew, costs relatively little, and, withal, can be rendered relatively safe at this very writing. The airplane does not necessarily have to use one engine, so that all power is centered in one unit that may fail at any time. The 1000 horse-power of a large machine can be split up into two units of 500 horse-power each or four units of 250 horse-power each. Thus if part of the power fails, the airplane still has sufficient power to at least sustain itself. So the danger of crashing from engine failure is more or less eliminated in the large machines of the present.

For immediate commercial aviation, the airplane is ready and here, while the dirigible is some years away. Ultimately, both classes of machines will be used, since they both have very definite fields of application. The dirigible, with its relatively slow speed and greater carrying capacity, is best suited to long flights where it is not in direct competition with railroads. The airplane, on the other hand, is adapted to the journeys of a few hundred miles at most, in direct competi-



INTERIOR OF THE LIMOUSINE AIRPLANE

(Comfortable, roomy seats for six passengers, with complete protection from wind, rain and cold)

tion with railroads, where its superior speed can effect a marked saving in time.

It appears that for commercial purposes, large, rigid airship stations should be established at distances of 2000 to 3000 miles apart, while the airplane could be used as a "feeder" or branch line for bringing passengers and merchandise to these stations from neighboring cities. For example, an inter-continental airship service could run from Lisbon to New York, passengers being taken from Paris, Rome, and other Continental cities to the Portuguese capital by fast airplanes. In this way the airplane would compete with the train and the airship with the steamer, either aerial carrier having the advantage of reducing the average time of transit by at least 50 per cent.

From what has preceded, so far, the reader will certainly pardon the author for taking up the airplane and championing its cause for the remainder of this story.

The airplane, which has been largely over-estimated among the aviation laity, is by no means a practical commercial craft either. It requires tremendous power to drive it through the air; it is a frail structure at best, requiring frequent repairs and soon shaking itself to pieces; its range is limited to several hundred miles, except if fuel is piled on board to the exclusion of passengers and other cargo; and the weight-carrying capacity is seriously curtailed, even in the case of the largest planes extant.

Frankly, the airplane does well as a pleasure vehicle. More and more sportsmen are turning to aviation for enjoyment. There are single-seaters for those who prefer to travel alone and fast; there are limousines with three- or four-passenger accommodations for the use of the entire family. Some men even now are commuting between home and business by means of the airplane. Certain Texas ranchers have used airplanes to survey their domains. Motion picture celebrities, in search of new ways of spending their huge incomes, have turned to airplanes.

Then again, the airplane is an excellent carrier of fast mail, and as such it is being widely employed in all leading countries. The ease with which the two-seater reconnaissance machines of the late war could be converted into limited weight carriers—three hundred to six hundred pounds—caused France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and the United States to change them over into mail planes wherever possible. To-day we have aerial postal lines beginning to assume the proportions and complexity of a huge spider's web over Europe. And here in the United States we are running the New York, Philadelphia, and Washington mail route with gratifying results. We have essayed the New York to Chicago route but not with success, due, seemingly, to our being a little ahead of the times. No doubt this route, and others of equal length, can be negotiated with the new multiple-engined machines now being developed for the longer routes.

Aside from the transportation of fast mail, the airplane lends itself well to carrying light merchandise. For instance, it might well be employed for transporting timely motion picture films. Thus if a film were made in New York on the afternoon of a given day, it might be taken by airplane to Chicago the same day, developed during the night and shown on the screen the following afternoon. Making a speed of better than one hundred miles an hour as compared with an average of forty miles per hour for the long-distance train, the airplane gets to its destination in certainly less than half the time or even one-third the time required by railroad, for distances of several hundred miles.

In the matter of passenger-carrying, as already outlined, the airplane cannot carry a sufficient number to warrant its high operating costs, except when speed is the prime requisite. There are places in this world, however, where airplanes as passenger car-

riers could compete with surface carriers even on the price basis; places where the present railroad or highway communication takes a winding course between termini as the result of intervening mountains, bodies of water, or swamps. In such cases the distance by land may be one hundred miles, yet as the crow flies—and that is the way the airplane flies—the distance is only thirty. Here, of course, the airplane can make the journey in perhaps fifteen minutes, while the train requires three hours. The airplane can then compete with the railroad in low fares. But these are very exceptional instances, to be sure.

The Winged Bus and Aerial Highways

As an instance of passenger-carrying airplanes, the Farman *Goliath* is most significant. It has a wing spread of ninety feet, a length of forty-five feet, and is equipped with two engines which total 550 horsepower. The speed of this machine, originally intended as a long-range bombing plane for the French Army, is over 105 miles an hour. It carries a useful load of 4400 pounds, of which 1144 pounds is fuel.

Now the Farman *Goliath* in its commercial form, equipped with a comfortable passenger cab instead of a sinister cargo of high explosives, is intended for passenger-carrying service between Paris and London. Until recently the British authorities have been most reticent in granting licenses to foreign air services going into England, and the flights have had to be made with French military men in place of civilians. Still, the Farman machine has demonstrated what it is capable of doing.

During the early part of last year the huge biplane left the French field of Toussus-le-noble, near Paris, with fourteen passengers and headed for London. It arrived at the Kenley airdrome near London in two hours and 37 minutes. The following day the return trip was made in three hours and 23 minutes, owing to adverse winds. A few days later the *Goliath* left for Brussels, Belgium, this time carrying sixteen civilian passengers. It arrived at an airdrome near the Belgian capital two hours and 15 minutes later. The next day it returned to France with its passengers in two hours and 42 minutes.

Great Britain has gone ahead in commercial aviation. The huge Handley-Page biplanes of wartime fame have been converted into passenger-carrying machines and are

serving with excellent results. The Airco organization, also in Great Britain, is operating several routes with smaller machines, and so far has met with excellent results. Since last September commercial airplanes in England have carried 4201 passengers and 50,000 pounds of freight, a total of 84,428 miles without injury to a person or a single loss of goods, according to Handley-Page, one of the leading aircraft constructors of the world. The passenger traffic between London and Paris, according to this authority, is \$60 per head, while a charge of 50 cents per pound is made for freight.

The Germans are operating several passenger-carrying airplanes successfully, one of their latest machines being a five-engined giant biplane which carries twenty-two passengers with ease. The Italians have been working on 50-passenger machines, and even a 100-passenger machine is variously reported completed, under construction, or just designed.

Here in the States we have the excellent Lawson biplane, which recently flew from New York to Washington and made other notable flights about the country to demonstrate its practicability. We have the Martin bomber, which readily lends itself to conversion into a passenger plane. Then there is the Curtiss *Eagle*, which is a very excellent machine although of moderate capacity. Carrying eight passengers and equipped with three engines of 150 horsepower each, the Curtiss *Eagle* represents an attempt to split up a passenger-carrying service into many multiple-engined units so as to reduce the first cost, maintenance, and operating expenses to a minimum.

One man, who has made the tour of central Europe in airplanes, covering a distance of more than one thousand miles, states as his opinion that the most efficient passenger-carrying airplane to-day is one that is limited to six passengers. Smaller than that, it cannot compensate for the services of the pilot; larger than that, its rate of deterioration and the operating expenses are too great. He believes that the air service must be split into a number of medium-sized machines.

In the matter of expense the airplane may soon be developed to a point within reach of the average automobile owner. The larger an airplane becomes, the more complicated and delicate its structure, and the shorter its life, to a certain degree. But the smaller it is made the more sturdy it becomes, especially if high speeds are not the prime



AN AIRPLANE OF THE "FLYABOUT" TYPE

(A three-passenger machine designed to meet the needs of the business and pleasure world, which has come to realize the practical value of aviation)

motive of the designer. So in the case of some small airplanes which have been recently introduced, the structure is strong and possesses exceptional longevity. Equipped with a 40-horse-power engine, one machine makes better than thirty miles on a gallon of fuel, or considerably better than any automobile; hence the operating cost is obviously not excessive for the smaller machines. With a wing span of eighteen feet or less, the majority of small planes can be stored in the usual steel or wooden garages; and in the larger spans there is the ingenious hinging of the wings, which permits the latter to be folded back along the body so as to reduce the width of the machine to less than 10 feet.

But Where Shall We Land?

There would be far more airplanes in everyday use if suitable aviation fields or airdromes were available. Airplanes require large fields from which to start and in which to land. These fields must be provided before extensive commercial flying can be realized. In fact, it is in this respect that Europe is far ahead of us; and to possess sufficient landing fields means to develop one's aviation to the utmost.

Take the case of the aerial commuter, who comes down from his country home some 150 miles away. He covers that distance in less than two hours; but when he reaches a large city, such as New York, there is no place to land except out on Long Island, about twenty-five miles away. Now as a matter of fact it will take him well over an hour to come in to the city from the landing

field, not to speak of the inconvenience of taking trains and subways and so on. In short, he has lost an hour of precious time and has failed to escape the inconvenience of land travel even after his 150-mile flight.

This matter of landing space must be settled within the next few years, for our aviation depends on it. In the instance of large cities, such as New York, it is doubtful if any land can be set aside within the city limits, unless parks are made over for the purpose. Even so, there would not be sufficient room in all our parks combined to accommodate the thousands of airplanes which must soon come to New York every day. Airplanes require a tremendous amount of space to roll about or "taxi" prior to taking off, and an equal or greater amount of space in which to land safely. Indeed, the largest fields can generally accommodate about a dozen active machines at a time, while the dozens of others wait their turn.

What about the house tops? Didn't the French aviator, Vedrines, land on a small roof of a Paris department store a year or so ago? Didn't that prove the practicality of landing on roofs?

Yes and no. Vedrines used one of the slowest landing machines in the world—a pre-war Caudron, which alights at something like thirty-five miles per hour and which makes a relatively slow speed in the air. It is little more than an elementary training machine to-day, and not suited by any means to the requirements of commercial aviation. And Vedrines, let it be remembered, was a skilled pilot. His death some time later was due to structural defects of his machine and not to want of skill. What Vedrines did the ordinary man would not attempt, certainly not the civilian airman flying for convenience and pleasure rather than for prizes or notoriety.

Vedrines' little stunt proves nothing as to landing on roofs, because it was a daredevil trick, just as looping-the-loop at the circus. But this idea of landing on roofs—special roofs, to be sure—has great possibilities. Buildings or groups of buildings might be covered over with wooden or cement platforms about a block square, with proper provisions, such as weighted ropes or cables, for bringing the rolling airplanes to a safe stop after alighting. It might be feasible to take in several blocks of buildings and cover them over with a huge platform provided with heavy glass lights directly over the streets so as to light those narrow man-made

canyons of the American city. In this manner, so it seems, adequate landing facilities could be provided in the very heart of our big cities. Little machines with fair horsepower would have no trouble in starting from roof platforms of this kind, even when of modest dimensions. To-day the British and American navies start small planes from platforms laid on top of the gun turrets—platforms less than 50 feet in length. In the case of the large passenger-carrying machines, which sometimes require a run of 500 feet before taking off, the larger platforms would be necessary.

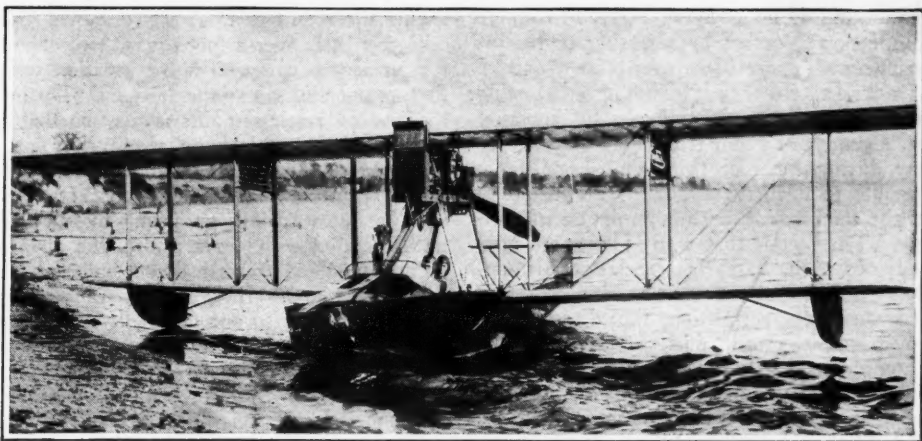
In the meanwhile, however, there is a simple solution of the city landing problem in the shape of the flying boat or seaplane, which is that type of airplane provided with a hull-shaped body or suitable pontoons, so that it may start and alight on water. Glenn H. Curtiss, the well-known pioneer American airman and constructor, developed the aquatic type of airplane back in 1911 and ever since then has been a staunch advocate of this class of aircraft. Only recently he has expressed his faith in the flying boat or seaplane for commercial purposes, because of the ease with which it can be handled in the water. The airdrome problem is immediately solved; for any city possessing a large lake, river, harbor, or ocean front is ready for the water type of flying machine. No special provisions have to be made; no huge tracts of land must be set aside for the use of the seaplane; and the seaplane can practically land in the heart of the city.

Hence the flying boat, which is a more sturdy craft than the seaplane with its delicate pontoons, may be the most popular type of civilian machine in the near future because of the landing problem. Already plans have been advanced many times to provide hydro-airplane stations in New York and other cities.

Aside from the landing feature, the flying boat appeals to the sportsman because of its combination sailing and flying proclivities. It is roomy as compared with the average airplane; it flies steadier, because of its greater weight; and it starts and alights more easily than the land type. Also, the layman generally prefers to splash water in alighting than to dig earth or wreck a building.

Guide Posts and Traffic Policemen of the Air

Aerial travel will bring many new worries for our legislative bodies. So far, Great



THE FLYING BOAT OR SEAPLANE—WHICH STARTS FROM AND ALIGHTS ON WATER

(Because of the landing problem, the seaplane may be the most popular type of civilian machine in the near future. It appeals especially to the sportsman, with its sailing and flying features and is steadier and more roomy than the land machine)

Britain appears to be the only nation that has gone ahead with suitable laws and regulations and means of enforcing said laws and regulations. Landing fields have been set aside for incoming and outgoing machines. Foreign machines arriving in England must land at certain specified fields, where their cargo is examined and passed upon before further flight is attempted. All British machines are marked with a combination of letters, which indicate the "port" from which they sail and their identification. We in New York have an aerial police force in embryo form—a volunteer organization, composed of ex-Army and Navy fliers, equipped with several machines; and by the time aerial travelers blacken the skies of that metropolis it is certain that winged policemen will be on hand to regulate traffic and demand respect of our laws.

Smuggling will prove somewhat of a problem, but with an ample force of winged revenue officers the winged smugglers will not have such an easy time of it. It may be that airplanes from Canada and Mexico, and later from other countries, will get by our frontiers undetected; but it is in the nature of the airplane that it doesn't go far without landing, and that is the time that the smugglers will be caught. Foreign airplanes will be ordered to land at specified airdromes in order to be examined, after which they will receive suitable identification badges which will place them on the same footing as American airplanes flying license badges. At any rate, this problem of customs protection

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is no more complicated or impossible than that of guarding our long coast line with a relatively small number of revenue cutters.

Aerial navigation is comparatively simple, just so long as the airman can see the ground below. Aerial maps are being prepared of the most important routes both here and abroad. These maps, prepared from photographs, give every distinguishing feature of an aerial route. Waterways, hills, forests, ridges, railroads, cities—all these are plainly indicated on the aerial map, which may be in the form of a ribbon winding from one roll to another past a window, so that a section at a time is presented to the pilot. As one section is traversed the airman turns the knob of the aerial map, bringing the next section into position. With such a map almost anyone can guide an airship over a given course—provided the ground is always in plain sight.

Night flying will always call for navigating ability of no mean degree. The compass will have to be used, and a series of powerful lights and identification signs will have to be installed along leading routes. Powerful searchlights will make it possible to mark a course by tall columns of light, say at intervals of 10 or 20 miles; and airdromes will be equipped with elaborate lighting systems indicating not only the position and name of the landing field, but the direction and velocity of the wind at the surface.

Fog! That is the aviator's greatest enemy. It isolates him entirely. In a fog the airman

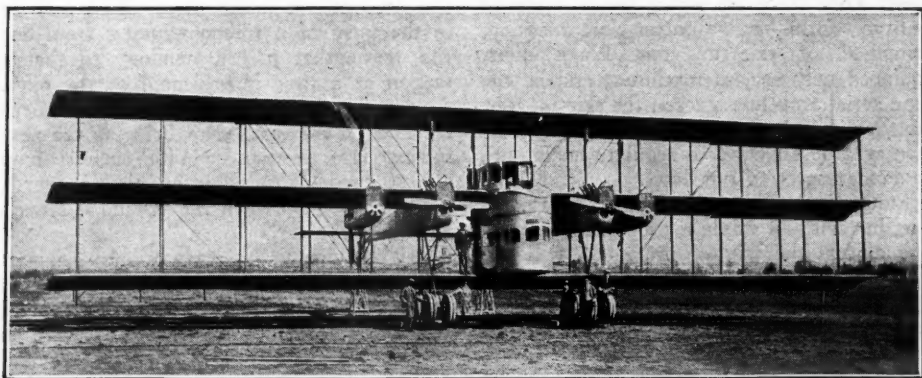
cannot tell if he is flying right side up or upside down, except by referring to his instruments. There is the ever-present danger of a crash, either with another airship or with the ground. Still, thanks to the rapid development of radio telegraphy and telephony during the past three years, it is now possible to navigate airplanes and dirigibles in the thickest fog with a minimum of danger. The fact is that many planes are now provided with "loops" or special aerals consisting of many turns of wire connected to a receiving set, permitting the direction of any transmitter to be determined. Thus the airman can locate any station within his reach, and in this manner determine his own position.

Now then, a little imagination: If a number of wireless signaling stations are established along aerial routes, each sending out distinctive signals at regular intervals the same as the periodic flashes of light from lighthouses along our coast and waterways, the aerial navigator will be able to find his way without trouble. Whether it is fog or intense blackness, he might well depend on his ears to give him his bearings, thanks to directional wireless.

And then there is the wireless telephone, which has been developed for airplane use

during the recent past. A set contained in a cabinet a little over a foot square will enable the airman to carry on a conversation with the ground and with other airmen. During fog and on starless nights it may be that a special wireless telephone transmitter provided with a phonographic repeater will work continuously at certain ground stations, sending out warnings or giving instructions to airmen. Passing over a city, the airman will be enabled to call down and get his bearings, ask for fuel, make arrangements for landing, and so on. He will be given a clear answer; better still, it is within present possibilities to connect the airman to the usual telephone lines through his wireless telephone, so that long-distance conversations may be carried on.

We have reached the threshold of commercial aviation. The means are ready, even if somewhat crude compared with what may be the case in a decade from now. The aeronautical engineer has contributed his fair share and now waits only for the new demands of commercial aviation springing out of actual service. The next move is that of the capitalist and business organizer, with the foresight, initiative, intrepidity, and ability to blaze the way through the limitless skies.



THE LARGEST AND NEWEST CAPRONI PASSENGER-CARRYING AIRPLANE

(The Italian engineer has constructed and successfully operated a triplane equipped with five engines and two cabins. There are accommodations for thirty persons. The Caproni triplane represents a type of machine which the author of the accompanying article believes less efficient than those built to carry only six or eight persons)

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

GOVERNOR COX OF OHIO

THE public career of James M. Cox, the Democratic Governor of the Republican State of Ohio, is outlined by Charles Merz in the *New Republic* (New York) for June 2.

The argument most frequently advanced by those who have urged the nomination of Governor Cox on the Presidential ticket at San Francisco is the geographical one. Governor Cox has carried the State of Ohio three times, and it will be conceded that there are few living Democrats who can be depended on to win in so strong a Republican State as Ohio. On the last occasion, in 1918, both Houses of the Ohio Legislature and two-thirds of the Congressional districts went Republican, as did the entire State ticket from Lieutenant-Governor down. Cox was the only Democrat elected to State office, and he ran 75,000 votes ahead of the Congressional ticket.

Cox was a newspaper proprietor in Dayton and Springfield when he was elected to Congress from the third Ohio District in 1908. He served two terms and on his return to Ohio was elected Governor, making his campaign on a reform program. He worked for school reorganization, a new taxation system, a workmen's compensation law, and a State budget. He succeeded in getting these various measures enacted into law, but when he campaigned for reelection he was defeated. Two years later, however, in the Presidential year, 1916, he was again elected Governor, and was reelected in 1918.

So far as national and international questions are concerned, Governor Cox, according to the showing made by Mr. Merz, has no distinctive policy singling him out from the other candidates. In the matter of taxation he believes that inheritance taxes should be left to the States, that the excess profits tax should be done away with, and that half of what would thus be lost can be made up by applying of a tax of from 1 to 1½ per

cent. on the volume of business done by any concern. Governor Cox's budget plan and his views as to a needed constitutional amendment are set forth elsewhere in this REVIEW.

In the matter of civil liberty Governor Cox has taken a definite stand. As Mr. Merz states in the concluding paragraphs of his article:

Governor Cox has given a first-hand demonstration of the fact that he is not among those diplomatic statesmen who always believe in free speech in general but never in particular. He has shown a genuine faith in democratic tolerance. When the steel strike came, when peaceful meetings were prohibited in the steel towns of Pennsylvania, when mounted troopers rode down groups of men and women in the streets, when a general and his troops were called in to the city of Gary to break the morale of a strike that was fought for the basic right of recognition, in those days freedom of speech and freedom of assembly ruled undisturbed in every steel town of Ohio. It is a fact that union organizers, in the towns along the Pennsylvania-Ohio line, actually marched across the border to hold their meetings on the soil of a State whose governor still had faith in American tradition. Local public officials in Ohio were instructed to maintain order against rioting, but to interfere in no way with union meetings and union organization. And the result? Violence in Pennsylvania, men and women hurt, fighting in the streets; in Ohio, not so much disorder as attends a trolley strike in New York City. In all six years of his administration Cox has never called out the State militia to police a strike. He has never had the need to.

I end on this note because, of the positive qualities in Governor Cox, this seems to me the dominant one. It represents him—fairly, I think—as a man with considerable courage and a good deal of self-possession. It shows, too, what is a key to Cox's mind in more ways than one: his education in Jeffersonian principles of government. More faith in those principles he has retained than most leaders of his party. A surviving flare of Jeffersonian politics distinguishes him. In terms of politics his best performances are written—his State constitution, his defense of free speech, his quarrel with legal injustices. Economic problems, the perplexities of men and women adjusting themselves to an industrial civilization, find him less ready. He is a young man, swinging an old flail; but swinging it well.

THE LEADER OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE'S PARTY

THE gains of the People's Party, formerly known as the National Liberty Party, in the recent German elections have revived interest in the personality of Hugo Stinnes, who, as the owner of sixty-four newspapers, is regarded as one of the most influential figures in the political and industrial life of modern Germany.

In former years Stinnes has been described as the Charles Schwab of Germany, and his power has also been likened to that of Lord Northcliffe in England. Neither characterization seems adequate in itself. The career of Stinnes has had in it many incidents that remind one of strikingly similar developments in the lives of Schwab and Northcliffe. Whatever else may be true of him, there is general agreement that Stinnes is today the greatest industrial power in Germany. He is the owner of coal mines, steel mills, river- and ocean-going fleets, electrical plants, gas plants, coal by-products, hotels, newsprint factories, and newspapers.

In a sketch of Stinnes, based on German sources, the *New York Times* of June 13th tells how he inherited some mines which were only moderately prosperous, and soon found it to his advantage to associate himself with August Thyssen, the German steel and mining magnate of that day. At the same time Stinnes began to buy up poorly paying mines and reorganize them. He was successful in this process, but it was not until after he had broken off business relations with Thyssen that he attained real industrial power.

The great advantage Stinnes had and still has over all the other leaders in industry in Germany is his ability to see things as a whole. The possession of coal alone was not sufficient for him. He was anxious to build steel mills. That meant the buying up of iron ore mines. His first operations in the coordination of industries began, as far as could be learned, in 1904, when he bought up the coal and iron interests in the Deutsch-Luxembourg regions. He was at that time a man of 34. The mines were then worth 20,000,000 marks. Seven years later their value had risen to 100,000,000 marks. The following year they were quoted at 130,000,000 marks.

"One industry," the *Neues Wiener Journal* goes on to say, "made way for another. The iron mines were bought up first. It was then discovered that there was insufficient coke to run them. This led Stinnes to buy up a coal mine in the outlying district. It then developed that he had too much coal. He decided that a steel mill was

the outlet for this superfluous tonnage, and proceeded to gain control of steel plants. His operations grew wider and wider until it seemed as though in time he would gain control of the entire coal and iron output of the country.

"The one thing Stinnes continually held before his colleagues was the idea that the ore industry was the greatest possession of Germany. He held that there was no half-way measures about it; it either had to be developed to its greatest extent or else let alone entirely."

In 1911 it was stated that Stinnes alone controlled over a million tons of steel. His coal tonnage ran up into 5,000,000 for hard coal, 1,000,000 for coke and 600,000,000 for briquettes.

Stinnes has been compared to American leaders of industry in that his method is not one of amassing a fortune in money, but rather in constantly using his credit to start new operations. "Expansion, rather than intensive sole control of one organization, is his aim. His coal operations reach out over the entire country, from the French boundary to the Russian and all the way down to the Mediterranean."

As soon as Stinnes had assumed control of vast mining operations, he started to build himself a fleet of ships to carry the coal and ore from his mines to the cities and ports where he could get the best prices. Before long he had won a foothold in several of the big steamship companies of Germany, including the Hamburg-American Line. He then set out to control the electrical power of important mining districts. He used electricity in the operation of his coal mines and also sold power to the cities and country districts. In territory where he was operating he gradually gained control of the street cars, organizing a company with a capital of about 40,000,000 marks. In course of time he had absorbed a total mileage of about 250. He then proceeded to gain control of the street railways of Mannheim, one of the great industrial centers.

During the war Stinnes became very active in the exploitation of Belgium. In an article devoted to him in *Vorwärts*, the leading organ of the Majority Socialists, there is the following account of his part in the Belgian transactions:

Stinnes's share in the work of liquidation in occupied Belgium forms a particularly interesting chapter in the development of his huge capital. Originally designed as a means of retaliation against economic warfare, this measure soon de-

veloped into something exclusively calculated to throw billions into the lap of German big business. Three Essen companies were formed for the exploitation of this opportunity, the Industrial Company, 1916; the Traffic Company, 1916; and the Real Estate Company, 1916. All three were creations of the Rhenish Westphalian big capitalists; their principal stockholders being the Friedrich Krupp Company, the Phoenix Company, the Good Hope Smelting Company, and, first of all, the German-Luxemburg Mining Company, the firm of Hugo Stinnes. He was the intellectual leader of the undertaking.

These three companies understood how to persuade the government to give them a practical, though not a formal, monopoly in buying up the Belgian businesses about to be liquidated. That is, they received a sort of a first bid privilege. The Essen trust, guided by Mr. Stinnes, knew how to shield itself against outsiders in a skillful way. Besides the gas, water, and electric plants, dockyards, etc., Mr. Stinnes had in view, as his main object, the coal fields of the Campine, a goal worth billions. Of course, all these acquisitions were most closely bound up with the plans for the annexation of Belgium. Once the iron and steel industry got its grip on property in Belgium worth billions, like the coal fields of the Campine, they could throw this fact into the scales in order to justify the annexation of Belgium on economic grounds.

For the gas, water, and electric plants taken over by it, the Stinnes concern paid the extremely low price of 28,000,000 marks. The previous

director of compulsory liquidation had estimated their value at 48,000,000 marks. An opinion given by Hempel, the director of the Electric Supply Company in Berlin, put the value at 32,000,000. Although this estimate exceeded the price actually paid by 4,000,000, Stinnes and his companions must have been very well satisfied with it, for after the delivery of the property Mr. Hempel was made Brussels director of the company, at a salary of 100,000 marks. The low price paid was justified on the ground of the alleged great risk. As a matter of fact, there was no risk whatever, for according to the agreement the purchase price was to be paid through the depositing of a sole bill of exchange with the Maritime Bank in Berlin, due six months after the conclusion of peace. Therefore, it was arranged for in advance that the compensation for the taking over of the property was not to come into the hands of the original Belgian owners before the decision of arms had been made.

A writer in the *Staats-Zeitung*, of New York, expresses the opinion that Stinnes is just the kind of leader that Germany needs at this time. It is suggested that he is a man who has the rare faculty of being able to see his country in the proper industrial perspective. Furthermore, he controls great wealth, and that is regarded as the prime requisite for the reconstruction of Germany.

THE MEANING OF GERMAN POLITICS

IN a letter from Berlin, written in April and published in the May number of the *Fortnightly Review* (London), Mr. Robert Crozier Long analyzes revolutionary Germany into its elements. He finds three emphatic types—the Junker, the “Schieber,” and the Red:

This does not mean that any of the three types, or even all three together, dominate numerically. It means merely that from the gray mass of the politically inert and feeble these aggressive political and social types stand out best. Anyone who wants a key to the Right counter-revolution of Kapp, and to the more significant Left revolution that succeeded it, can, short of any deeper philosophy of revolutionary history, find the key in the actions and interactions of the emphatic three. The revolution, which began in political ferment, is, in fact, developing along much less idealistic pocket lines; and that is a reversion to political type, for before the war four of the five parties (omitting the Center, though it too had its economic policies) represented, from Right to Left, the Agrarian, the heavy industry, the middle-class, and the industrial-Labor money interests, and represented nothing politically worth mentioning.

Mr. Long is convinced that the factions

in Germany struggling to-day are influenced by “pocket motives”:

Monarchy *versus* Republic, war *versus* peaceful submission to the Versailles humiliation, the two issues which absorb foreign observers, play no rôle. When Herr Kapp, who at heart was Monarchist and Militarist enough, established himself for five days in the Wilhelmstrasse, he did not dream of doing the traditionally correct thing for a Monarchist-Militarist—proclaiming a new Kaiserdom with a program of national liberation. He had too close a knowledge of the public mood for that. He promised unheroically to cleanse his country in business matters and to abolish the *Zwangswirtschaft*, that is, the government control of trade from which all except the “Schiebers” suffer; and so the emblem on his helmets and armoured cars was not the eagle or the sceptre, but the innocent Svastika cross which, as adapted by himself, adumbrated a pogrom for the “Schiebers,” which meant for the Jews. The extremists at the other end, the Red Revolutionaries of Westphalia, also have only an economic program; and the correct converse of Kapp’s universal honesty is their universal plunder.

This is Mr. Long’s explanation of the “Schieber”:

In the narrow, original sense, the “Schiebers”

are mere dishonest traders who sell goods above rationed quantities at above legal prices. In wider sense, they are an enormous class who, sometimes innocently, have been enriched automatically by the unexampled displacement of all values which has resulted from the currency collapse. Socially, the "Schieber" is a marked type

in every German city; and politically, though he is usually passive and has naturally no ungrateful prejudice against the queer Democracy which presents him with diamond shirt-studs and deep sealskin collars, he exerts an unintended influence no way smaller than the influence of the other two.

OUR RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA

IN the *Survey* (New York) for June 5th, Mr. William Allen White reviews in an informal way the recently published volume of documents and papers, covering Russian-American relations for the three years beginning with the overthrow of the Czar's government in March, 1917.¹

Mr. White, who, it will be remembered, was appointed by President Wilson as a delegate to Prinkipo, finds that these papers are above all "a relation of the social psychology of a people differing from our own which we should endeavor to understand; a record of social institutions and classes going through a tremendous experience which we should grasp; an exhibit of the part borne toward them, the high ideals, the half starts, the contradictions which have marked our course during three troubled years, a challenge for such a coherent policy in the months to come as shall hold for us what we have had, and what we may still have, if our course be true, the abiding faith of a nascent republic toward the common people of America, whose drama of revolution and experiment in self-government antedated theirs by almost a century and a half."

Alone of all the Allied statesmen, says Mr. White, President Wilson saw the Russian Revolution for what it was—"the reaction from autocracy, the mad, stark, brutal expression of implacable distrust from the oppressed towards the oppressor." His letters and documents, and indeed the attitude of the American Ambassador to Russia and of Colonel Robins, of the American Red Cross, during the period of the fall of Kerensky and the rise of Lenine and Trotsky seem to Mr. White to be "highly intelligent, splendidly dispassionate and sympathetic to a commendable degree. America always will point to that episode in our diplomatic history with great pride. We were treating a child as a child, holding a sort of diplomatic

juvenile court in Russia, not a criminal hearing, however terrible the deeds before us must have seemed."

Mr. White rapidly sketches the rise of the Bolshevik power, the rout of Kolchak, the collapse of Denikin, and the withdrawal from Russia of Allied influence. Russia was completely isolated and, as Mr. White points out, when the Bolshevik was left alone to do his will and way in Russia he resorted frequently to cruelty and oppression. Terrors and pogroms were not uncommon.

What was and is and what is to be America's part in the Russian overturn?

Bolshevism was attacked from the outside, was threatened with invasion, and that very attack gave bolshevism the only binder it had to maintain national unity in Russia. It is a poor people that will not unite under any flag to prevent foreign aggression, and the blindness of the Allies in furnishing bolshevism with its one cohesive force will be the marvel of the historian who reads these documents in some dispassionate future day. Yet the documents should not be read without considering the passions of the hour which inspired them. These documents should not argue against the Allies, but against war which makes men so blind and so stupendously foolish. It was the war spirit of the world and not the viciousness or the blindness of the Allies which dictated these notes that form the policy of the Allies in Russia. That policy was the real tragedy of the war.

In that policy for better or for worse, the plain people of America have borne little part. We have nothing to lay beside the record of British Labor, for example, in practically forcing the government to withdraw its troops from the adventure in Archangel; nothing to match the recent action of British Labor in sharply challenging the British support to the Polish offensive with all that it means in the persistence of plague and disorder in central Europe and of questionable effect upon the efforts within Russia to achieve a new equilibrium.

Ours has been the sin of omission and the deadlier sin of ignorance. If open diplomacy is to mean anything, it means that just such documents as these which the League of Free Nations Association has gathered shall be spread broadcast. If it means anything, it means that diplomacy should also be responsive to public opinion. If it means anything, it means that public opinion should be aroused as well as informed.

¹ Russian-American Relations. March, 1917-March, 1920. Documents and Papers. Compiled and Edited by C. K. Cumming and Walter W. Pettit. Harcourt, Brace and Howe. 375 pp.

THE MOVEMENT TO PRESERVE THE REDWOODS

THE "big trees" peculiar to the Sierra of California, belonging to the species *Sequoia gigantea*, are more celebrated throughout the world than the redwoods, another magnificent and gigantic species of the same genus, also domiciled in California. A few years ago the National Geographic Society came to the rescue of the finest group of the "big trees," when these monsters were threatened with destruction at the hands of the lumbermen. Now, it appears, the redwoods are in danger, and the result is a recently launched campaign for their preservation, details of which are published by Mr. Madison Grant in the *National Geographic Magazine* (Washington, D. C.).

Whereas the "big trees" are an inland and mountain species, the redwoods (*Sequoia sempervirens*) grow along the northwestern coast of California. Mr. Grant says:

The original range of the redwoods extended from Monterey north along the California coast to a point a few miles over the Oregon line, embracing an area with a length of about 450 miles and a width not exceeding forty miles. The narrowness of this range seems to be determined by the fog which sweeps in from the Pacific, and the writer has seen the edge of the fog-bank clinging closely to the inland limit of the redwood belt.

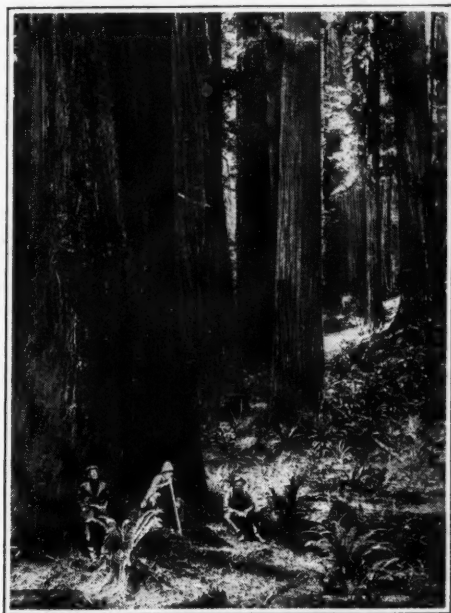
In the southern and larger half of their range, the redwoods are somewhat broken up in more or less isolated groves, and the axe of the lumberman has now separated these groves still more widely. In the north there is an almost continuous series of solid stands of redwoods, constituting the most magnificent forests in the world, not even excepting the great Douglas firs and pines that adjoin them in Oregon.

South of San Francisco the redwoods are now found chiefly in the Big Basin, which has been wisely made into a State park, and in the famous Santa Cruz grove. Intermediate spots along the Coast Range, notably at La Honda, are interesting chiefly as showing the pathetic solicitude with which the owners of surviving trees care for the battered remnants amid the charred stumps of former giants.

Here at least the owners have learned that the value of a living tree at a public resort or along a highway far exceeds the value of its lumber. All these southern groves are mere reminders of the forests that are gone, but the surviving trees will be carefully protected.

North of San Francisco the Muir Woods, on the slopes of Mount Tamalpais, are easily accessible and show something of the forest grandeur formerly found in the region of the Golden Gate. The preservation of this grove is entirely due to the wise munificence of Mr. William Kent, who presented it to the nation.

To the north, Sonoma County has purchased for public use the Armstrong Grove and Mendocino County probably will be impelled to buy the Montgomery Grove. These last trees are situated near the highway to the north of Ukiah and will be the first grove visited by the northbound tourist. If they are purchased by the town or county, Ukiah will become the entrance to the



AMONG THE GIANTS

Redwood Park series, and, like Merced, at the entrance to the Yosemite Valley, will derive a large revenue from motor tourists.

After leaving Mendocino County one enters the great groves of Humboldt and Del Norte counties. Here are solid stands of redwoods, and the observer finds it difficult to distinguish between one grove and the next.

There are many reasons why steps should be taken to preserve these trees. They are natural wonders on account of their size. Though in diameter of trunk—sixteen feet or more in the larger specimens—they are surpassed by the "big trees" of the Sierra, they grow to a much greater height. Known specimens attain 340 feet, and there are probably some even higher. The age of the redwood is about half that of the "big trees," but most other forest species are infants in comparison with them. Some specimens are supposed to be more than 1300 years old. Lastly, the *Sequoias* are interesting as sur-

vivors of a genus of plants which grew widely over the earth millions of years ago, as attested by an abundance of fossil remains.

The redwood of the coast, *Sequoia sempervirens*—the immortal Sequoia—far from being a battered remnant, like its cousin of the Sierra, whose shattered ranks remind one of massive Roman ruins, is a beautiful, cheerful, and indomitable tree. Burned and hacked and butchered, it sprouts up again with a vitality truly amazing.

It is this marvelous capacity for new growth from trunk or from root saplings which is, perhaps, the most interesting character of the redwood in contrast with the big tree, which has no such means of regeneration and must depend on its cones for reproduction.

All the redwood forests have been more or less injured by fire, sometimes of ancient origin, but more often deliberately started by the lumbermen to clear away the slash, and it is a wonderful sight to see a charred trunk throw out a spray of new growth twenty or thirty feet above the ground, or a new tree standing on top of an ancient bole and sending its roots, like tentacles, down into the ground around the mother stump. Other trees stand athwart the fallen bodies of their parents and continually readjust their root systems to the decaying trunks beneath it.

These great trees, with their hundreds of feet of clear timber, have, among other valuable qualities, the unfortunate characteristic of easy cleavage or splitting, and so they are in special demand for railroad ties, for shakes or shingles, and for grape stakes. These superb trees are sacrificed to supply the stakes to support vines because of the practically indestructible character of the wood, which will stand in the ground almost indefinitely without rotting.

It is scarcely necessary to dwell on the need to put an end to the destruction of the oldest and tallest trees on earth. The cutting of a Sequoia for grape stakes or railroad ties (and an eighteen-foot tree along the new State highway was cut a few months ago for that purpose) is like breaking up one's grandfather's clock for kindling to save the trouble of splitting logs at the woodpile.

The problem of preserving the redwoods has already been taken in hand in several quarters—notably by the authorities of Humboldt County, who are preparing to issue bonds in order to raise the funds necessary for buying up the groves within that area—and a general movement has just been launched in the shape of a "Save-the-Redwoods League," with headquarters in San Francisco.

The league is under the executive control of Dr. John C. Merriam, of the University of California, Berkeley, California, and its purposes are:

(1) To purchase redwood groves by private subscriptions and by county bond issues.

(2) To secure a State bond issue to buy the finest redwood groves along State highways.

(3) To establish, through Federal aid, a National Redwoods Park.

(4) To obtain, through State and county aid, the protection of timber along the scenic highways now in course of construction throughout California.

(5) To encourage the State to purchase cut-over redwood areas for reforestation by natural means or by replanting where repeated fires have made sprout reproduction impossible.

Committees have been formed also to study the subjects of redwood distribution, variation, and the most efficient commercial use of redwood products, in the belief that nearly all the purposes for which this lumber is now used can be adequately served by *second-growth trees*.

One of the first results of the activities of the league has been the donation by Dr. John C. Phillips, of Boston, of a large sum of money for the purchase of a redwood grove as a memorial to his brother-in-law, the late Colonel Bolling, who fell under circumstances of great heroism in the late war. No more beautiful or effective memorial can be imagined than a grove of these trees, the very name of which, *sempervirens*, is redolent of the idea of immortality.

THE ARGENTINE SUGAR SITUATION

A CLOSE examination of the sugar situation, covering a period of some years—but more particularly the past six months—has been made by the *Economic and Financial Review* (Buenos Aires). Its findings follow:

Production of Argentine sugar in 1913 was 280,219 tons: in 1914 330,000 tons was produced. Then, in following years, only about one-third of this amount was put on the market. The following table is based, in most cases, on the *Direccion de Estadistica y Economia Rural*, whose figures differ in

some instances from another government department, though not enough to affect general conditions and consequent conclusions:

Years	Tons produced	Population	Tons consumed
1915	149,299	8,239,777	214,234
1916	84,069	8,388,093	218,090
1917	88,075	8,539,079	222,016
1918	125,950	8,692,782	226,012
1919	260,000	8,849,252	230,080

In 1914 it was estimated that the per capita consumption was 26 kilos (about 57

pounds). But in the years 1917-1918 the total internal consumption had diminished to 189,553 tons, according to the official organ of the sugar industry (roughly speaking this is about one-half the 1914 per capita).

In 1919 50 per cent. more sugar was produced in the province of Tucuman than in 1918. The money collected by the government as taxes on this crop has helped greatly to reduce its outstanding debts. In view of this a proposition by the sugar industry to lower sugar rates (to the consumer) by the abolishment of taxes, etc., is interesting. This plan will be found later in this article.

There is a world-wide shortage of sugar to-day. England has met this by taking over a large part of the Cuban crop (which America will remember was offered to our government and refused by the present Administration) and other countries have been forced to such heroic remedies as rationing, price-fixing, and so on. Early this year the question in the Argentine was to protect the consumer by placing an embargo on the export of sugar to prevent the sugar industry from stripping the country of material to be sold abroad at high prices. In February the government had this under consideration. Needless to say, sugar men were protesting against the idea. So much for export, at that time.

Most Argentine sugar is raised in Tucuman, Salta, and Jujuy. The real problem was not the laws regulating prices or export, but the greater cost of manufacture. Ten years ago sugar sold at 40 centavos (40 cents) per kilo, netting a high profit to growers and refiners. The workman worked twelve to fourteen hours daily at a wage of two pesetas (about 40 cents), enough for living expenses considering cheapness of living at that time. To-day the workman works fewer hours and is paid four pesetas daily. All transportation charges, machinery, and raw materials are immensely higher in price. The price is nearly doubled.

An estimate of supply over demand for June is placed at 165,000 tons, but this figure is questionable as it is known that 45,000 tons have been included which have already been taken out of Aduana. The sugar industry naturally desires a chance to export and participate in the high prices of world trade.

The refiners and growers in March suggested that sugar prices to the consumer could be lowered, without danger of having

smaller crops, by the adoption of the following:

(1) Permit exportation of excess over consumption.

(2) Free sugar growers and manufacturers of the finished product from all existing internal revenue taxes.

(3) Reduce (by Government action) all transportation charges on both cane and sugar.

If this is done they claim the three northern provinces and Chacos can produce more than sufficient sugar to supply the Argentine. Instead of encouraging production producers say that the government is "chastising" the sugar business by both direct and indirect taxes.

Such proposals are unprecedented and quite questionable as being sound economics; one can imagine what a storm of protest such a proposal would meet in the United States if a great industry tried to help the consumer in such a disingenuous manner.

The planters in Tucuman complain that crushers (and refiners) pay them too little for the cane. The cost of growing has nearly doubled since 1915, in spite of largely increased production. It is almost impossible to reach a sound figure on comparative costs, however, as neither planters nor refiners calculate the diminution of the unit price with augmentation of costs *in the same zone*, or figure in the surplus. Such vague figures cannot form the basis for any scientific study of remedies and must injure the sugar industry's chances to have the government pass remedial legislation.

In April the crop for the coming year (to May, 1921) was estimated to run 150,000 tons in excess of demands. This would make a total excess of 300,000 tons to be stored, if the embargo still obtains. At that time (April) the embargo was still in force and the question arose whether the crop should not be curtailed rather than have a large surplus of sugar in storage at the expense of the growers and refiners.

Again the men interested in the sugar industry brought forward a plan (much similar to the former) which they said would save the industry and the general public as follows:

(1) Absolute liberation from national, provincial, or municipal taxes for all those connected with sugar manufacture.

(2) Reduction of railroad freight rates.

(3) Establishment of safeguards against speculation.

(4) Stimulation of production in every form.

Let us consider the consumers' side. No foreign sugar can be imported from Paris, Cuba, Brazil, or Peru—in order to protect Salta, Tucuman, and Jujuy. Thus all Argentina gives up its rights to protect these states. In return this *reductio ad absurdum* is proposed!

To get a fair basis for prices the government should (1) establish a single bureau for handling the question, and (2) have the whole industry carefully studied. Failing this a virtual internal monopoly exists to the probable detriment of consumers.

In view of this a permanent Price-Fixing Commission is suggested, to study costs, etc., and submit its findings to the President for action; prices to be regulated every three months. The commission should consist of (1) a member of the *Centro de Almacenes*, (2) president of the *Bolsa de Comercio*, (3) Chiefs of the Division of Industries and of Commerce, respectively, (4) director of the *Estadística Industrial*, all to be under the presidency of the ministers of *Hacienda* and *Agricultura*. In all cases the exportation of excess or the importation of sugar to fill a deficiency to be decided by this board.

With the establishment of such a commission sugar would be in perfect equilibrium and speculation checked.

In the latter part of April the government had under consideration a petition from the sugar-growers and refiners that the surplus sugar be allowed to leave the country—a partial raising of the embargo. It is claimed that a continued embargo on the surplus will penalize both producer and consumer. The partial raising of the embargo being in sight, the Spanish ambassador requested 15,000 tons for his country. A similar request, for 5,000,000 tons, from Uruguay has been granted by the government.

The present situation is this: The sugar interests ask for relief from taxes, etc.; economists suggest a government commission to go thoroughly into the matter of costs and set fair retail and wholesale prices; and the government is considering partial raising of the embargo to permit export of surplus (so that the total crop for the coming year may come into the market, eliminating the danger of curtailment in production).

Were it not for excessive ocean freight charges to-day the United States might well take a large portion of the excess production that may come into the world market.

ANOTHER SOLUTION OF THE SHORT-HAUL PROBLEM

IN our June issue, pages 653-4, we abstracted an article relating how, in many parts of the United States, the establishment of motor-truck routes was solving the urgent problem of providing transportation for places not reached by the railways, as well as supplementing the service of the latter in the matter of "short hauls." The solution of the problem is, unfortunately, not complete, for reasons which are set forth at some length by Mr. C. F. Lang in a contribution to the *Scientific American* (New York). The editorial note, prefixed to Mr. Lang's article, will serve to indicate its purport:

The existing railroads—with the possible conversion from steam to electric motive power—are doubtless adequate, in general principle, to conduct our long-distance transportation business for a long time to come. The finished highway of concrete or similar construction is feasible for comparatively rich and populous districts which can meet its first cost and supply enough traffic to make its maintenance worth while. But be-

tween these two types of transit, there is a vast gap which has never in the history of the world been adequately filled. Just what the gap has been and why it has existed, and how it seems likely to be permanently plugged up through one of the big lessons of the war, constitute the theme of Mr. Lang's story—and it is a story which he is eminently qualified to tell, since as an engineering executive he is in close touch with the development which he describes.

That fruitful seed-bed of new ideas, the World War, supplied the suggestion which Mr. Lang has elaborated in his article. One of the developments of the war was the extensive use of light railways to carry troops and munitions. The writer says:

As is well known the trunk line railways furnished the backbone of support for the armies during the war. But transport had to be provided from the trunk line railway to the supports in the trunk line trenches. To accomplish this end, a variety of means of transportation had to be used—horses, mules, carts, wagons, automobile trucks, and, last but not least, the light,

narrow-gage military railway; this latter because it can be made available not only for use on or alongside the main highways which were also used by the horses and motor-drawn vehicle, but also because it could be laid in any direction through the fields so as to reach, by the most direct route, any desired point. By the liberal use of switches, these narrow-gage railways could radiate and extend in all directions from the main trunk line, radiating, fan-like, all over the country to be served.

On these railways much heavier loads were transported and in longer trains than ever had been considered possible before the war. This was largely due to the fact that the ties used were of a special oval channel form, nearly twice as heavy as the ties heretofore used on light railways; and, moreover, these ties were spaced only two feet from center to center of tie, and the channel dished formation wedging itself into the soil made the track more rigid than was possible in the more common commercial uses of light railways. The story of the light military railways will undoubtedly be written by some engineer historian, as it deserves to be, and the study of such a history should lead to a rapid development throughout the world.

The ordinary railways not only are conspicuously inadequate to supply the needs of the country in the matter of transportation, but in many cases, especially in the West, they have been so badly located as to be permanently unprofitable. Many have, consequently, been abandoned, and the abandonment of many more is in contemplation. The development of highway transportation in the United States is one of the striking phenomena of the present moment, but it has its limitations. In defining a few of these, Mr. Lang says:

It is my belief that neither the standard-gage railway nor the well constructed, paved highway will ever solve the transportation problem in countries of the Western Hemisphere. The highway will aid greatly in developing the sections of the country through which it passes, just as the standard railway has done, but the development will necessarily remain close to the highway. The highway will also do much toward relieving the short-haul problem to a nearby local market, this short haul having always heretofore been one of the sources of loss to the standard railway.

It must be admitted, however, that highway construction, at least the paved, hard-surfaced highway, is so expensive to build of sufficient strength to stand up for years under the weight of traffic which passes over it that only fairly well-settled communities can afford to make the investment. In other words, the highway will be largely built through communities already settled and developed for the purpose of taking care of the traffic which this developed territory creates.

We have then still before us the problem of some cheap method of transportation for sparsely settled or undeveloped stretches of territory, or

for the purpose of connecting up large plantations or farms with their nearest markets or with their nearest trunk-line railway. This problem has received more attention in South America than in North American countries, and it is also being given serious consideration in such distant countries as the Philippines and South Africa, where long stretches of country now have as their only means of transportation the ox-cart. These countries, confronted with the necessity for providing some better means of transportation, find it difficult to justify the building of expensive highways through long stretches of sparsely settled country, and yet must reach many points considerable distances from the few trunk-line railways in the country.

The shortcomings of highways and the advantages of light railways are thus presented by the author:

The highway permits only of the haulage of comparatively small loads by power-drawn vehicles with perhaps only a limited possible future development of the trailer and haulage in short trains behind the automobile truck itself. These trains necessarily must always be short and of limited tonnage because of the congestion, confusion, and danger of accident which would occur were many long trains hauled, even if such a development were possible on other grounds.

The light railway in practically all countries in North and South America can be built and can be maintained with a smaller investment than a well-paved highway. On it much longer trains can be hauled at a lower ton-mile cost. Such a railway could, as might be more advantageous, either be built alongside of and paralleling unimproved highways now existing, or following the practice of standard-gage railways could be built more directly from point to point without following the meanderings of the average highway. At a comparatively small expense, every plantation owner or farmer could have one or more switches with branch lines running to his barns or to his fields, and could load his products directly into the railway car either in the field or at his barn, hauling the car by means of horses, oxen, or mules to the main line of the narrow-gage railway, where it could be switched into the train for transportation to market.

Trains could be run with greater or less frequency as the traffic might demand so that operating costs would be quite flexible with the traffic. It has been suggested that in sparsely settled territories which might not warrant the expense for a first-class highway, the narrow-gage railway could be used, first for the construction of a cheaper improved highway which would be sufficient to carry light passenger traffic, and, second, the railway having been used for such construction could be used as a railway for the heavier traffic, both the railway and highway put together costing less per mile than a hard-surfaced road would cost at the present time.

It has been my intention merely to present this skeleton suggestion of a cheap method of transportation, realizing full well the many engineering problems involved in the development of such a system.

GERMAN PRE-WAR CORRUPTION

THE article by Louis Gillet in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, entitled, "The German Press Bureau: a Contribution to Pre-War History," is suggested by the memoirs of Otto Hammann, who, for the dozen years before the great war, was the master-spirit in that notorious source of corruption and scandal. But the hostile French reviewer's interest is quite rigidly limited to the picture incidentally, and, for the most part, unconsciously drawn of German manners, morals, and methods. Indeed, he hardly touches his titular theme. Writer and critic are disposed to agree that while the statesmanship of Bismarck in power made the Empire, his malign influence after his retirement, and no less since his death, has unmade it.

He (Bismarck) was not the man to present an example of Christian resignation, to kiss the rod that smote him. . . . From Karlsruhe emanated unceasingly malignant slanders that spared the honor neither of ministers nor of their wives, that showed no respect for the reigning house, and depicted the monarch himself as a degenerate. Bismarck had a press of his own at command which invariably thwarted the policies of his unhappy successor, Caprivi.

Since the "Memoirs," so far as yet published, stop with Langier and Algéciras, *i. e.*, at the beginning of the prologue to the great tragedy, only three chancellors are here sketched:

Caprivi, with the shaven head, the stride, the rigid discipline of the mere soldier . . . capable of scheming to deprive Bismarck of a reception at the Austrian court when visiting Vienna simply to attend his son's marriage, but capable, also, of retiring at a nod from his liege, just clicking his heels together in courteous formal salute; old Prince Hohenlohe, still grieving over the loss of the independent petty sovereignty once held by his "mediatized house," rebellious at the law which made him alienate his great Russian estates; and von Bülow, the spoiled child of fortune, the lucky diplomat, skilled to take the bull by the ears rather than by the horns, who even dared introduce mere authors and artists into the Wilhelmstrasse soirées.

Yet through all these years, long after Bismarck's death, it is declared, his shadow darkened and barred all the paths of Prussian diplomacy. And this is ascribed chiefly to an obscure, all but nameless admirer of the man of blood and iron, who, therefore, could see no good in any project of his successors, and who, all this time, as under-secretary of foreign affairs, controlled

the press-bureau, and so could and did belittle or distort every policy of the executive.

Here one is reminded of Lincoln's apology to a disappointed office-seeker, that he had "very little influence in this administration," for author and reviewer seem agreed that mere ministers, or even successful revolutionists, accomplish very little against the continuous, cumulative, conservative force of the unreasoning bureaucracy, such as has carried France, Germany, even Russia, comparatively intact through the most volcanic upheavals.

This man, Geheimrath Holstein, who was never photographed, and rarely mentioned, is the one whom Herr Hammann would make "the scapegoat for all the sins of Israel"; for the book is, it appears, not a bona fide history at all, much less an impartial one, but an elaborate effort to relieve Prussianism proper from nearly all the guilt of bringing on the war; a plea in mitigation, composed just when the Germans, aware that they were decisively beaten, still hoped to escape through the postern-gate (which Mr. Wilson was to open) "neither victors nor vanquished."

It was Holstein, for instance, who inspired the article in the *Vossische Zeitung* that broke Caprivi's back. . . . He was one of those ascetics in power, without personal ambition, but passionately devoted to their own official duties, which they mistake for the supreme interest of the state.

By him and his kindred associates, even the most far-sighted acts were satirized and belittled, as when, by the sacrifice of Zanzibar, the mighty rock Heligoland was regained, to become an all but impregnable outwork of imperial power.

But we can hardly see, and of course the French essayist does not wish us to believe, that any mere fossilized bureaucrat could be, single-handed, the real master, whether for good or ill, of Prussian foreign policy. That the attempt to imitate Bismarck constantly made by little men who came after has been disastrous may be more seriously argued; just as Frederick the Great's success against desperate odds lured William into defying the world, or as Moltke the Less applied inherited principles in feeble fashion at the Marne. Von Bülow himself said: "We are suffering from a malady whose name is 'the caricature of Bismarck.'"

THE UPPER ST. LAWRENCE

THE proposal to improve the channel of the upper St. Lawrence River between Lake Ontario and the city of Montreal, which is now before the International Joint Commission, is discussed from the Canadian standpoint by Mr. Francis King, of Kingston, in the current number of the *Queen's Quarterly*. He begins with a glance at the entire system of navigation from the headwaters of Lake Superior to the Atlantic Ocean:

Lake Superior, with an area of almost 32,000 square miles and an altitude above mean sea level of 602 feet, drops down the St. Mary's River to the next level of 581 feet, that of Lake Huron with 23,000 square miles and Michigan with 22,400. The water then slips down the St. Clair River, through the dredged St. Clair Flats to little and shallow Lake St. Clair, and on down the Detroit to the 572-foot level in Lake Erie, a lake of just about 10,000 square miles. From here the water takes its greatest drop, northward through the Niagara River and the Welland Canal, 326 feet to the 246-foot level in Lake Ontario, spreads over the 7500 square miles of that lake and comes at last to pour down the St. Lawrence to the far-distant sea.

At Port Colborne, the Lake Erie entrance to the Welland Canal, this great system, navigable all the way from its western source at a draught of approximately 20 or 21 feet, drops suddenly in navigability to a draught of only 14 feet, which is now the available depth of water over the sills of the Welland and St. Lawrence Canals. The St. Mary's River, the St. Clair and the Detroit, while originally presenting great difficulties, have all been rendered safely navigable for the largest ships now plying on the lakes, and the canals and locks on both sides of the St. Mary's—the only point requiring lockage—are of dimensions sufficient to accommodate ships larger than any now trading through. The fourth lock on the United States side recently completed has a length of 1350 feet, a breadth of 80 feet and depth on the sills of 24½ feet. The St. Clair Flats and certain rock cuts in the Detroit River limit the draught in times of low water, but generally speaking the largest ship can come to the foot of Lake Erie at about 20 feet. To proceed further and pass the locks of the Welland and St. Lawrence Canals a ship must be not more than 255 feet in length, and about forty-three feet beam, and must draw not more than fourteen feet of water.

The relative smallness of these dimensions, coupled with the demands of commerce on the Upper Lakes, particularly in "coal up and ore down" between the south shores of Lake Superior and Erie, has led to the building of an ever-increasing number of ships running as high as 624 feet in length carrying up to 15,000 tons or 500,000 bushels of grain. All these boats are available for grain east-bound in the early and late seasons when ore is not moving. To enable them to bring their cargoes within 175 miles of Montreal, within easy reach of ocean tonnage,

the New Welland Ship Canal was undertaken.

The present Minister of Railways and Canals in a recent public address stated that this work would not have been undertaken if corresponding future development of the St. Lawrence had not been contemplated, but it is also a fact that the work would not have been undertaken when it was without the incentive of opening Lake Ontario to the big boats of the Upper Lakes and bringing the point of cargo transshipment down to the head of the river. The war has halted progress on the Welland, and recently labor troubles, added to the financial stringency, have again checked advance; but the work will undoubtedly go on and within the next half-dozen years we should see the largest ships on the lakes coming to transship their cargoes at the foot of Lake Ontario. Plans are already under way to receive them. Many factors which will be mentioned make it reasonably certain that this condition will then continue to exist for many years, quite probably even after the St. Lawrence is brought down (or up) to a 20- or 25-foot navigable depth.

From Lake Ontario to the ocean docks at Montreal there is a drop of more than 200 feet in a little over 150 miles. This section of the great waterway includes the famous rapids, which have been passed by thousands of tourists from all over the world. The system of canals that has been built to form a highway for freightboats now has locks of the same size as those in the Welland Canal and fourteen feet of depth is available throughout the channel.

To meet the demand for a deeper channel several schemes have been suggested, but the one which seems to have most support and to which engineers have devoted the most serious attention is thus described by Mr. King:

The proposal which is in fact at present the subject of close investigation by engineers acting for the two governments, is one which is designed to provide for navigation the greatest possible amount of deep and comparatively slack water with the least possible amount of canal and the most modern and simple lockage facilities, while at the same time providing for power purposes the necessary head at certain strategic points, and above all reducing expenses to a minimum—if the word minimum can fairly be used in this connection.

The main features of this plan are (a) a dam across the river, approximately in the vicinity of Morrisburg, of a height adequate to provide slack water and deep channels all the way up to Lake Ontario; this dam to be passed by ships through lockage of the most modern character, and to serve also as a power house; (b) a similar dam, with corresponding lockage facilities and power house below the Long Sault Rapids; (c) possibly another dam a little lower down below Lake St. Francis, at a point to be determined, and (d) a canal system near Montreal, possibly on the

south instead of the northern side of the river.

A considerable amount of work would of course be necessary in the free sections of the river for the purpose of removing shoals and improving channels, but the completed work would reduce canalling to a minimum and accumulate power in large amounts at several separate points from

which distribution would be readily undertaken. It has been estimated, although the writer takes no responsibility for the figures, that 4,500,000 horsepower would be available on a 24-hour basis; 1,000,000 on each side in the International Section of the river and 2,500,000 in the Province of Quebec.

THE WASTE OF NATURAL GAS IN THE UNITED STATES

SEVERAL articles on the burning question of the day indicated in the above title appear in the current magazines. Writing in the *Popular Science Monthly* (New York), Mr. Calvin Frazer tells us how "every year the American people pay out millions of dollars for the natural gas they don't get." He says:

When a town in the gas belt is forced to turn from natural to artificial gas because the local supply of the former is exhausted, the citizens of that town are put to heavy expense in reconstructing the heating and lighting arrangements of their homes, stores, and factories. This happens, on an average, in fifteen American towns each year. Incidentally, an added strain is placed upon the nation's coal supply, and we all pay a little more a ton for coal. When a number of steel plants and glass works are forced to turn from natural gas to coal, we all pay a little more for steel and glass. In such ways Nature is presenting her belated bill for a commodity that we once thought was as free as air and water. We are paying for the gas we don't get, and, to make matters more exasperating, we are paying for billions and billions of cubic feet of this precious fuel that we never *did* get, because it was deliberately thrown away after being brought out of the earth.

It is an old story that the total stock of natural gas under the soil of this country is quite limited, and it is a no less well-worn theme that wild extravagance has characterized the use of this small supply, yet so little have these facts been taken to heart that, according to a Government estimate, the amount of natural gas wasted in the United States in the year 1917 was equivalent to \$1,200,000,000 worth of artificial city gas. Some of the "leaks" responsible for this glaring waste are thus described:

Gas is always found at oil-wells, and only a small percentage of this gas is ever turned to account. It is a common practice of oil operators to blow off the gas in order to procure the oil. Many fine gas-fields have been depleted by this process. It is stated that the oil-wells of West Virginia alone are thus wasting annually at least seventy billion cubic feet of natural gas,

equivalent to about one-third of all the natural gas used for domestic consumption in the United States. At both oil- and gas-wells gas is wasted through improper casing of the bore-hole, improper plugging of abandoned wells, and in various other ways.

Natural gas that is captured and piped to the consumer is very rarely used to best advantage. Under stress of competition the gas-fields are overproduced, and the underground pressure of the gas is soon disastrously lowered, often resulting in the invasion of the wells by water. The old practice of selling natural gas at a flat rate of so much to the consumer, or at so much to a fire or other fixture—no meter being installed—survives in many places, thus putting a premium on waste. "Boom" towns still lure the manufacturer by offering gas for nothing, or at a ridiculously low rate. Wasteful open-flame torches, or *flambeaux*, are still found in the gas belt.

A few years ago the gasoline in natural gas was looked upon as a nuisance. To-day it supplies about one-tenth of all the gasoline used in this country.

Mr. Frazer tells us that it is an economic blunder to use natural gas for industrial purposes, since it is an ideal fuel for the household and if limited to domestic use it might be supplied at low cost for generations. The enormous demands of the factories, however, soon exhaust even the richest gas-fields, and thus both manufacturer and householder are soon forced to turn to a more expensive fuel. Another point this writer emphasizes is that competition among the producers leads to wasteful methods, on account of the effort of each producer to get as much of the gas from a given field before it is secured by his competitors in the same field. Pooling of operations, he says, should not only be permitted, but encouraged or made obligatory.

A brief article in the *Scientific American* (New York) tells us that there are more than 2,400,000 domestic users of natural gas in the United States, and that they are faced with the following situation:

There has been a marked decline in: Rock pressure and volume of old and new wells,

number of acres natural gas land held and number of producing wells per domestic consumer.

There has been a large increase in: Number of domestic consumers, domestic consumers' demands for gas service, compressing station capacity made necessary by rapidly declining rock pressure, purchase price of gas in field, compressing station operating cost, cost per million cubic feet of open flow capacity of new wells, well operating cost, and taxes.

The amount of gas wasted is at least equal to the amount of gas used; on the basis of what it will now cost to replace natural gas with manufactured gas, the money value of the waste amounts to more than \$3,000,000 each day. Domestic consumers waste more than 80 per cent. of the gas received. The efficiencies of most domestic appliances can be trebled so as to make one foot of gas do the work of three. Therefore, because of the higher efficiencies that can be obtained and the smaller volume needed for the same service, increased prices per thousand cubic feet need not increase the annual cost per consumer.

An article by J. A. Bownocker on the dwindling supply of natural gas, abstracted in *Science* (Garrison, N. Y.), furnishes such alarming statistics as, for example, that the open flow of new wells in West Virginia has decreased 79 per cent. in ten years; in northwest Pennsylvania 70 per cent. in seven years; and in southwest Pennsylvania 12 per cent. in ten years. Changes of rock pressure in new wells are similar.

Several articles discuss the various efforts that have been made to utilize natural gas as a raw material from which more valuable substances may be obtained. The production of gasoline from natural gas has reached large proportions. The extraction of helium from the gas of certain mid-western fields was one of the developments of the world war, though the armistice came too soon to permit an extensive use of this product in military balloons, in place of hydrogen, as had been contemplated. Other commercial uses of helium are now being sought.

An article by Dr. J. B. Garner, published in the *Lamp* (an organ issued for employees of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey), gives details concerning present and prospective natural gas products:

There are three methods of separating natural gas into dry, clean commercial gas and gasoline. These are compression, refrigeration and absorption, or by combinations of compression and refrigeration, compression and absorption, and absorption and refrigeration. All of these processes are being practiced commercially. The compression and refrigeration methods are used successfully only on gas whose content of gasoline is in excess of .75 of a gallon per thousand cubic feet. The absorption method is used successfully where the gasoline content is more than

twenty-five gallons per million, the only prerequisites being that proper pressures, temperatures, and oil circulators are maintained in the absorbing, distilling, and condensing operations.

As the natural-gas gasoline industry developed and its possibilities became better known, leaders in the industry realized that there could be extracted other by-products of a lighter nature which were too highly volatile for use and shipment as gasoline. Recent discoveries have disclosed the utility and value of the propane and butane constituents of natural gas. A process has been devised for the recovery of these from natural gas by the absorption method. The plant which will produce these two substances is made as an adjunct to the absorption gasoline plant. Up to the present, little or no commercial use has been made of these volatile by-products. They have simply been permitted to escape into the air or have been discharged into fuel lines for consumption under boilers. The recovery of butane or propane as liquids certainly makes a new era in the natural gas industry.

Helium is rather a common constituent of the natural gas of the Mid-Continent and Northwest Canadian fields. It is a non-inflammable gas which is only slightly heavier than hydrogen and very much lighter than air and will, therefore, be admirably suited for use in balloons. It is the most difficult of all gases to liquefy.

Natural-gas gasoline serves admirably for commercial sources of its constituents; pentane, hexane, heptane and octane. These can be more or less completely separated from one another by the well-known process of fractional distillation. All of these constituents are capable of simple synthetic chemical reactions of being converted into substances which are of great importance and of relatively high economic value. For example, pentane is useful in the manufacture of the so-called pentane thermometers.

Tests have been made with propane and butane as a source of power for stationary engines and automobiles. The results prove that these substances can be used, not only with the ordinary equipment of internal combustion engines, but also that the carburetor can be entirely done away with and in its stead a gas mixer used. The road and maximum power tests show that it is feasible and practicable to use these substances for power. One of the greatest industrial uses so far developed for liquid butane is as a steel-cutting gas.

The use of butane as a refrigerant has been studied in three large ice plants of the expansion type. Results of tests covering a period of practically three months indicate that the refrigeration qualities of butane are about 75 per cent. of those of ammonia when all of the equipment, characteristic of an ammonia installation, is utilized.

As a source of heat, it has been shown that butane can be more economically used in rivet heating apparatus than coke. The loss of rivets due to "burning" is materially lessened. The apparatus for its use is much lighter in weight. The time of heating to the desired temperatures is lessened, and the use of compressed air is unnecessary.

The writer feels reasonably certain that commercial processes will be developed whereby formaldehyde, formic acid and oxalic acid will be produced from natural gas as a raw material.

THE RAVAGES OF FIAT MONEY

IN the present disturbed state of the world there is a very special interest in a description of conditions as they existed in France in the year III (1795) of the first French Republic. An article giving a vivid portrayal of France as affected by the flood of debased paper currency appeared recently in the *Nouvelle Revue* (Paris), from the pen of M. Marion.

He observes, in the first place, that the situation of France was, at least in appearance, more brilliant than ever. What with her repulse of foreign invasion, her territorial conquests, the decisive defeat of demagoguery and monarchism, with her new constitution, better than any preceding, bidding fair to secure the repose the country longed for—all seemed promising. In short, the Convention had succeeded in all its enterprises, with perhaps only one exception: it had been unable to check the steadily increasing flood of paper money, or to invest it with any degree of credit. And that alone sufficed to bring the state, apparently so vigorous, to the verge of dissolution, to menace the Revolution with an unprecedented cataclysm.

The writer proceeds to exhibit in detail the baneful results of that superabundance of a depreciated paper issue—"the most terrible scourge that can afflict a state."

The concluding paragraphs, reproduced below, furnish a sort of summary of the situation:

What with the derangement of prices, their instability, and their increase, unsound as it is, there is absolutely no one, property-owner, laborer, employers, *entrepreneur*, negotiator, merchant, who knows what to count upon, who can calculate his chances and his risks, who may reasonably reckon upon the morrow. It is, a contemporary aptly remarks, as if people accustomed to tread on firm ground were suddenly compelled by a gulf opening before them to seek a route in midair. The income of property-owners, the wages of workmen, the profit of merchants, all those elements which should unite and harmonize in order that merchandize should have a real, just value, have become species of dice tossed about by chance in a paper-money dice-box. And society at large is ruined at the same time by the circumstance that old engagements cease to be kept or retained in the mind, and that the universal disorder prevents the contracting of new ones.

Unfortunate indeed under this deplorable régime, he who should wish to contract, sell, lend, work! Unfortunate he who should economize, invest, save! Prodigality becomes a virtue in the head of a family; saving is deception

and folly. Throwing money out of the window is the only means of not losing it entirely. One would be the instrument of his own ruin should he conclude to retain a despised symbol which daily grows less valuable. People hasten, therefore, to get rid of it as if it burned their fingers, and throw it at one another's heads.

That orgy of luxury and expenditure which characterized the Thermidorian society has often been described, and in no indulgent terms. It should rather have been remarked that the craving for fêtes, that mad course of pleasure—a legitimate revenge, after all, for the unendurable existence under the Terror—was mainly an inevitable consequence of that avalanche of paper money which one had to get rid of at all costs. The progressive worthlessness of the *assignat* (paper money) made squandering a necessity, as it made gambling in stocks the only means of activity still remaining possible. It had transformed Paris into a vast city of brokers, where everyone sought to exchange his fleeting paper for durable merchandise, and bought up as great a quantity as possible of marketable commodities, in the hope, often illusory, of disposing of them with profit when a sound money circulation—which one hoped for but which never came—should return.

It is not a minor error to have interpreted that flood of a luxury wholly factitious as proof of riches. There were two nations in France, particularly in Paris; two nations whose opposition was aptly brought out in an article of the *Courrier Français* of the fourth Fructidor: "Look, at sunrise, in certain quarters, at those haggard faces, those livid complexions, those ragged clothes, those strings of people besieging the doors—all that will furnish you the spectacle of a population of beggars and the unfit. At night, wander through our gardens, our monuments, our theatres, where the plaudits are so generous, and assuredly those joyous cries, those outbursts of laughter, the gold, the diamonds, the elegant stuffs, the faces glowing with health, will offer you the pleasing picture of a nation of miniature Cræsus. Go, above all, to Garchy, dealer in ices; that is the school of fine manners. . . ."

Of these two nations it is the second that has chiefly attracted the attention of history; but it is the first, perhaps, that should have done so: it was greater numerically, and the extreme distress, consequent upon the unexampled dearthness of the most essential commodities, was but too real, while all that great display of opulence was rather factitious, proceeding as it did from the imperious necessity of ridding one's self of a paper which must be squandered at all costs. Paper money, the greatest factor of social upheaval in existence, transfers to some what others possessed, but it does not stop at displacement—it destroys.

Among the features just cited which upset the economic equilibrium at the time of the great disaster of the *assignat* (though that disaster was fated to attain even graver proportions under the Directory than under the Convention) the reader will readily have distinguished those which are recurring to-day and those, happily more numerous, which have not as yet recurred

in the present state of affairs. For the evils which our ancestors suffered at that time in an extremely acute form have attacked us thus far only in an attenuated shape. We are not exempt from them, however, and with the course of time their ravages are growing more serious and

more disquieting. It is of the utmost importance to rid society as rapidly as possible of the dropsy of paper money with which it is inordinately inflated. The return to a sound economy, nay, even to a sound morality, is dependent upon it.

FOR AND AGAINST AN IRISH REPUBLIC

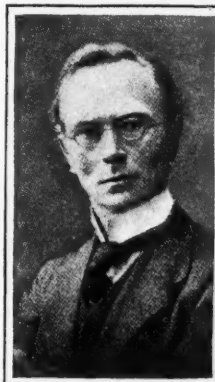
IT is clear that the Irish question cannot be disposed of by the British Parliament until it is definitely known whether or not the Sinn Fein demand for an independent Republic really represents the desires of the Irish people as a whole. With a view to obtaining light on this matter, the *Review of Reviews*, of London, sought and published articles by two of the best-known publicists in Ireland, one in favor of an Irish Republic and the other opposed to it.

Professor MacNeill, who presents the case for an independent republic, has been active in all the important Irish movements of the past thirty years, and was best known before the war as the founder and vice-president of the Irish Language Revival Movement. After the Dublin rebellion of 1916 he was sentenced to penal servitude for life by court-martial, but was released under the general amnesty granted to the Irish prisoners a year later. At the general election he won two constituencies as a Sinn Fein candidate, but has never taken his seat at Westminster.

His brief statement in the *Review of Reviews* starts with the assumption that the Irish Republic has already been established. He then proceeds to show the fallacies in the arguments that have been advanced for the disestablishment and abandonment of the Republic. Thus, to the argument that the British Empire is a commonwealth of free nations he replies that the statement is partially true, but that Ireland is not one of those nations. "Ireland's share in the Empire has been to be plundered and depopulated." In any case, he says, there is no such thing as a compulsory free partnership. "Why not invite Belgium, or Holland, or Denmark, or Norway, or Portugal, to take our place in the partnership?"

It is also objected that Great Britain and Ireland form a strategic unit. That, says Professor MacNeill, is just why an Irish Republic is necessary. If the Irish were at the Antipodes he thinks that they might possibly be safe with less than complete independence.

July—7



Prof. E. MacNeill



Capt. Stephen Gwynn

TWO EMINENT IRISH PUBLICISTS WHO DEBATE THE PROS AND CONS OF AN IRISH REPUBLIC

The case against a republic is presented by Captain Stephen Gwynn, the biographer of the late John Redmond, who was intimately connected with the Irish Parliamentary Party as the Nationalist M. P. for Galway City from 1906 until the last general election. He served in France as Captain in the Connaught Rangers. Since Mr. Redmond's death he has been the leading representative of the moderate Nationalists in Ireland. He, like Professor MacNeill, is interested in obtaining self-government for Ireland, but he holds that the demand of the Sinn Feiners for a republic is a demand for self-government in its least attainable form, and therefore most likely to involve delay:

The demand for an Irish Republic, in my opinion, is a demand for what you cannot hope to get unless England is defeated in war. Many Irishmen to-day believe that an Irish Republic will be attained through a war between England and America. If this be the only way of getting it, then the object is not merely difficult and uncertain of attainment, but attainable only through world-wide ruin.

The consequences of such a struggle would not be limited to Ireland; but in such matters a nation is entitled to think of itself first. What Irishmen have to consider is firstly the consequences for Ireland. If an Irish Republic can only be attained by war, setting all else aside, it means civil war in Ireland. No part of the

British Commonwealth is more strongly attached to connection with that system than Ulster—I had better say, Protestant Ireland—and these people could and would fight to the uttermost to maintain that connection. The demand for an Irish Republic means crushing by force, before it can be obtained, one of the strongest and best elements in Ireland.

Captain Gwynn's objection, then, is not to the republican ideal, but to the separatist ideal. He regards the Irish Labor Party, probably the most sincerely republican element in the present Irish revolutionary movement, as least separatist.

Sinn Fein through Irish Labor counts on the support of British Labor, pins its hopes on Brit-

ish Labor. I do not believe that the Irish working-man sincerely entertains an ideal which in its full acceptance—welcoming and desiring the barrier of a different language—would make him as much a stranger to Labor across the Channel as to Labor on the Continent.

Labor and not Capital is the real link between the countries. If Labor in both countries really desires an Irish Republic, it must come. But I do not think it will ever be desirable for either country or for the Labor elements in either Great Britain or Ireland itself. In any case, to press it now seems suicidal. I want to see Ireland get on at once with the work of governing herself; and this implies the acceptance of conditions which make immediate beginning possible. If Ireland decides that only Ulster can begin, so much the worse; but even that is better than no beginning.

THE SAD PLIGHT OF MONTENEGRO

AS the *London Review of Reviews* points out, Montenegro has paid bitterly for her part in the war. "It would have been easy for King Nicholas to have pleaded impoverished finances and avoided the catastrophe of war like the King of Greece. Instead, Montenegro rallied to the aid of Serbia, ignored the overtures of the Central Powers, and heroically stood by her word. In spite of the Balkan wars out of which she had only just emerged, forty thousand Montenegrins took up arms against the common

foe. They fought with Serbia and with the French at Verdun and suffered from the terrible famine and starvation that scourged Central Europe. To-day her King is in exile, she is still paralyzed from the effect of the war, and she is practically ignored by the great powers. This is a strange fate for an ally, after the promise by Mr. Asquith that England will always pursue her program of a vigorous continuation of the war until Montenegro and Serbia are reintegrated as independent kingdoms.



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TYPICAL MONTENEGRIN HUTS IN A VILLAGE ON THE NORTHERN BOUNDARY CAPTURED BY THE AUSTRIANS EARLY IN THE WAR

"Propagandists are working hard in this country and are divided into two camps, the Unionists, who desire union with Serbia, and the Separationists, who are fighting to maintain the independence of their country. The main dispute is whether the Grand Skupshchina of November, 1918, which voted for union with Serbia and deposed the Petrovitch Dynasty, was truly representative. The case for separation is admirably stated by Mr. C. D. Mackellar in the *Empire Review* (April). The case of Montenegro, he contends, involves more than the affairs of a diminutive kingdom; a great principle is at stake."

This is Mr. Mackellar's statement:

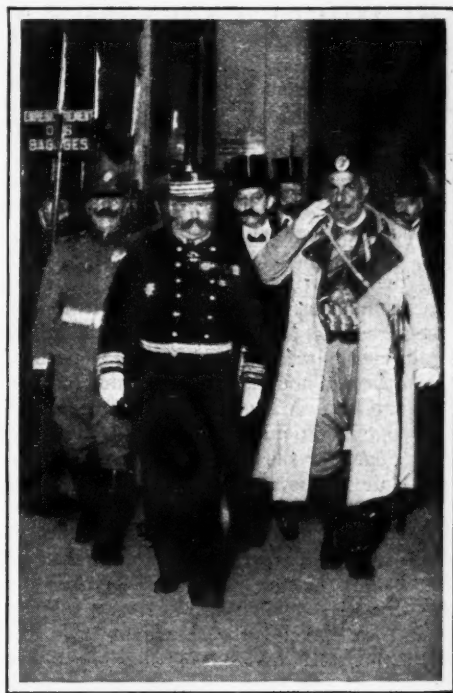
As an independent sovereign kingdom with her own dynasty, constitution, and parliament, and scorning Austrian offers of territorial aggrandizement to remain neutral, Montenegro entered the war to aid Serbia, continuing the struggle without reservation and without adequate resources in men, guns, munitions, food, or money. Having covered the retreat of the Serbian army and refugees through Montenegro in winter, her own end came. King, government, fragments of the army, and some refugees escaped and went into exile, the court and government ultimately taking up their residence in Paris; for so long as a government existed—just as in the case of Belgium—the country remained unconquered.

Notwithstanding this gallant record, the Serbian Army entered Montenegro with the appearance of attempting annexation. The invasion was resisted and since then a reign of terror has existed in order to subdue the nation. The King and government have not been allowed to return from France, except with a Serbian passport, which implied their becoming Serbian subjects, and although the Supreme Council has been kept informed by the Montenegrin Government of the state of that country the protests and notes have been ignored.

Mr. Mackellar vigorously attacks the plea that the Montenegrin people do not wish their King back.

Could anything be more opposed to the facts of the case? The people were never asked what they wanted. Only after the full restoration of Montenegro to her King and people can the people, in a legally summoned parliament, and in accordance with their laws and customs, settle their own affairs and destiny, and this cannot be without the return of the King and government. Many Montenegrins have taken to the mountains and guerilla warfare; others fill the prisons of Montenegro and Serbia. And all the while Europe looks on with indifference at the martyrdom of this brave, noble, but helpless nation.

The case for union is ably put in two



KING NICHOLAS OF MONTENEGRO, AN EXILE IN FRANCE

strong articles in the *Balkan Review* (April). These deny that the Grand Skupshchina which declared for union was a "bogus" assembly, and go so far as to claim that the risings against the Serbian troops were due to a few bands organized and paid by the ex-King.

Is M. Plamaratz unaware that the Italian Government was called upon by the Italian Socialist deputy M. Lazari to explain for what purpose the Italian Government spends 300,000 lire a month to keep this little army of the ex-King Nicholas? Has he any explanation other than the obvious deduction to offer?

The mission of Count de Salis, whose authority in these matters should be respected, seeing that he was a former minister of the Court of King Nicholas and British Minister to the Papacy, supported the unionists. The mission reported that the great majority of the Montenegrins are in favor of union with the other Southern Slav lands, though desiring a certain autonomy.

The unionists argue that Montenegro will not be placed in an inferior position to the other units of the state. They regard the talk of Serbian annexation as "simply bad faith or extreme ignorance."

JEWISH COLONIZATION IN PALESTINE

IN spite of disturbed conditions in Palestine and the frequent conflicts between Jews and Arabs in that country, there is still great interest in the plans for colonization, especially among the Jews of Great Britain.

Mr. R. N. Salaman, writing on "The Prospects of Jewish Colonization in Palestine," in the *Contemporary Review* (May) puts the case for the Jews, and in doing so sheds some light on the whole problem. The first part of his article is devoted to a survey of the agricultural possibilities of Palestine. He makes it abundantly clear that to the ordinary English adventurer the country offers no temptation. Not only has the land itself gone, for the most part, to wrack and ruin, but far better climates will be found in other British colonies, where, too, the colonist will have a powerful government at his back, and will meet with no obstruction from the administration or hostility from a native population.

But for the Jewish immigrant it is different. He is drawn to Palestine by the magnet of sentiment. Return to his ancestral home is a vital article of his creed. Will this alone suffice to sustain him in the difficult task of reclaiming the land to fertility? To begin with, at any rate, everything depends on his skill as an agriculturist. Is one justified in believing that, in face of the enormous difficulties which he must encounter, he will make a success of it?

It is frequently asserted that the Jew, by reason of his long divorce from agricultural life, is unsuited to agricultural employment, that he has developed tendencies which, whilst of advantage to him in his fight for existence in the economic struggle of modern life, unfit him for the rôle of agriculturalist and settler. It is true of the great majority of present-day Jews that they are entirely unacquainted with life on the land, but to assert that because of this separation of the individual from the soil there has developed an hereditary incapacity to return to the soil, is not only to be blind to very striking evidence to the contrary, but to acknowledge the truth of the inheritance of acquired characteristics, a doctrine which is repudiated by the great majority of modern biologists. Moreover, we have examples to-day of the Jew successfully tilling the land, both in the capacity of farmer and workman, not only in Palestine, but in Europe.

"But," says Mr. Salaman, "as we are more concerned with the relation of the Jew to the land in Palestine, it will be best to consider what has been done there and to accept the fact that, in the future as in the past,

the newcomer to the soil will have neither experience nor the physical endurance which the European peasant possesses."

The Jewish colonization of Palestine began with the settlements of the Jewish Duke of Naxos in the seventeenth century. These attempts failed, and very little headway was made until 1884, when Baron Edmund de Rothschild, of Paris, took all the settlements under his care and founded others. In 1897, following the publication of Herzl's "Jewish State," the first Zionist World Congress was held at Basle, which proclaimed as its program: "Zionism strives to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law." Then came Joseph Chamberlain's offer of East Africa to Herzl.

Joseph Chamberlain's offer of East Africa to Herzl was evidence that this great statesman had grasped at least one aspect of the movement. In Zionism Chamberlain saw a new constructive force. The Jews of Eastern Europe, united by bonds of blood and religion, driven forward by a cruel persecution under a hated despotism, and inspired by the burning desire to live a free life and develop their own culture, formed a new element in the political arena, and he hastened to make use of it. Chamberlain, however, made a mistake for which he at least has the excuse that some Jews, who should have known better, shared it—he thought that the essence of the whole movement was merely a desire to be free from persecution, whereas it was the love of creation, the innate ineradicable desire to build up something in one's own image. Just as in the spring-time of life the same message bursts from the unconscious to the conscious self and becomes objective, so to the Jews had come a re-awakening, a desire to create a state which should be Jewish, reared by Jewish hands, and breathing a Jewish atmosphere in the land of Jewish tradition.

The offer was declined; but the Zionist movement in Palestine took a new lease of life and vigor. A constructive program, involving a Jewish bank, a land development organization, and a crusade in favor of Hebrew as the national tongue was successfully carried out. Mr. Salaman claims that to-day the Jewish colonies

are the only bright spots in Palestine, the only places where a progressive life is being led, where one finds comfortable European homes with pleasant gardens, where the fields are tilled and the animals look as if they are fed, where the inhabitants can talk in English, French, or German besides their native Hebrew—for the colonists of the younger generation are remarkable linguists—where the homes are scrupulously clean and where, above all, children are cared for and

educated as they are nowhere better in the world. It was quite a common thing to hear both officers and men in the army during the war speak in glowing terms of the children, of their looks, their manners and playful friendliness.

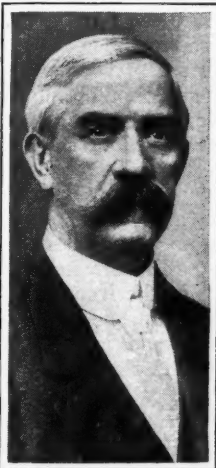
Mr. Salaman declares that there would have been no trouble with the Arabs if Britain had "assumed the mandate immediately after the Armistice and carried out its promise contained in the Balfour declaration" of 1917. He declares that "the Jew and the Arab would get on perfectly well if the politicians would but leave them alone"; and he charges the military administration

that has held sway with having "truckled to the noisy pan-Arabic party for the sake of peace and quiet, and with having received every Arab nationalist demonstration with courtesy"; while it "cold-shoulders and obstructs Jewish expansion." But "if England accepts the mandate for Palestine, encourages industrial penetration in the spirit of the Balfour declaration of 1917, whilst maintaining an even-handed justice between the races and creeds, then the success of Jewish colonization in the near future is assured." It is to be hoped that this "word to the wise" will prove sufficient.

A STATUE OF LAFAYETTE TO BE PRESENTED TO FRANCE

THE equestrian statue of the Marquis de Lafayette to be presented to the Republic of France by the Knights of Columbus and erected in the city of Metz will serve as an international emblem of amity, and will also commemorate the work of the Knights of Columbus in the recent war. As is pointed out by Mr. John D. Kennedy in the *New York Times Current History* for June:

In this one majestic piece of sculpture the Knights of Columbus will connect the story of the revolution with the story of the World War, for, on the pedestal beneath the figure of Lafayette, his sword upraised—as the sculptor, Paul W. Bartlett, conceived him leaving the gates of Metz for America—will be four bas-reliefs. The first will show Christopher Columbus on the Santa Maria, in the act of discovering America; the second bas-relief will show President Wilson announcing his Fourteen Points of peace to the world from the narthex of the Capitol at Washington; the third will show General Pershing at the tomb of Lafayette uttering his famous greeting, "Lafayette, we are here!" while in the folds of the flags above the tomb will appear the spirit of Washington; the fourth will show



SUPREME KNIGHT JAMES A. FLAHERTY, WHO WILL LEAD THE PILGRIMAGE OF KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS TO METZ

Marshal Foch prophesying final victory to officers of the Knights of Columbus in August, 1918.

By the first week in September the statue will be in place and unveiled. A delegation of 500 Knights will at that time proceed from New York to Metz. President Deschanel, Cardinal Amette, and Marshal Foch will be present at the dedication.



STATUE OF LAFAYETTE BY PAUL W. BARTLETT TO BE PRESENTED TO FRANCE

THE COMMERCIAL OUTLOOK IN WEST AFRICA

ACCORDING to the American Consul at Dakar, Senegal, Mr. W. J. Yerby, business houses in the United States have been slow in following the example of their European competitors in establishing branches in West Africa. Writing in *Commerce Reports* (Washington, D. C.), the consul describes at some length the conditions of trade in that region, and offers several profitable suggestions for the benefit of American exporters.

The territory under consideration is a vast one. It embraces the long stretch of the African continent extending for some 3000 miles from Port Étienne to the Portuguese Kongo, divided into twenty well-organized states, all of which, except the Republic of Liberia, are possessions of the European powers.

There are more than forty ports through which the import and export trade of these colonies and protectorates passes, amounting to more than \$450,000,000 in 1919. The greater part of this is a growth that has taken place during the past twenty-five or thirty years and is principally in the hands of the British, French, Belgians, and Portuguese, though the United States has shared a part of it indirectly, and during the war quickly gained second place among the countries supplying the imports.

England has continued to hold the first place, principally on account of Manchester cotton goods. Before the war Germany was second in rank among the countries exporting goods to West Africa, furnishing principally "trade spirits." Germany was also the second in rank among the purchasers of West African raw products.

The government machinery of each state works smoothly on the whole. With few exceptions one is as safe nowadays in the remotest parts of these colonies and protectorates as in the most civilized countries.

The principal imports of these colonies and protectorates, in the order of their importance, are: Cotton goods—shirtings for gowns, piece goods three, four, six, eight, and ten yards in length, in colors and prints for lappers, kimonos, chemises, etc.; leaf tobacco; spirits—gin, rum, etc.; construction materials for railways and public works by the colonial governments; building and general construction materials, being in large part cement, corrugated iron, terra-cotta roofing, lumber for frames, doors, flooring, etc.; expanded steel sheets, etc., for concrete reinforcements; beads; provisions—flour, sugar, milk in tins, butter, salted and other cured meats, all kinds of tinned goods, rice, salt, etc.; cutlery, glassware; crockery and hardware, especially iron pots and enamel ware; haberdashery; umbrellas and rain coats; fancy goods (a rapidly growing trade); lanterns; locks; hand tools for

carpenters, masons, smiths, etc.; hand and foot treadle sewing machines; lamps; kerosene and gasoline; shoes, slippers, and sandals; patent medicines, perfumeries, and soap. The demands of the civilized natives are the same as of Europeans. A large number of automobiles for passengers and motor trucks, bicycles, and automobile and bicycle accessories are imported through agencies.

West African exports include peanuts, palm kernels and oil, ginger, mahogany logs, cocoa, rubber, beeswax, gum, hides, gold, tin, etc. In each colony the trade is mostly in the hands of firms having their principal offices in the country to which the colony belongs, though there are generally also a few representatives of the other European nations owning African colonies. Liberian trade, before the war, was mainly in the hands of Hamburg merchants; now the British and Spanish predominate there, and the country offers a good opening for Americans. It is a remarkable fact that at present there is but one American commercial house established on the whole West African coast; viz, a New York tobacco exporting house, which has a branch at Dakar. Three American logging companies are at work on the coast, and there are some American mining interests in the Kongo, but with these exceptions there are no representatives of American trade and industry of any consequence in West Africa.

The European firms with their head offices in Manchester, Liverpool, London, Bordeaux, Paris, Antwerp, etc., operate branches in nearly every trade center in West Africa. A few of the larger firms have branches in nearly all of the colonies, French, British, etc. Some of these branches are very large, and are all managed by experienced men, selected from those who came to the coast as young men and consequently know the trade thoroughly. The retired managers, who usually become a part of the firms for whom they have worked, make the purchases in Europe and America for the trade; consequently, there are not many orders for goods given direct from West Africa, except by the new establishments. These new establishments are as a rule started by men who have worked for some of the larger firms, saved their money, and branched out for themselves. Many of these traders only need such credit as they could easily secure in England, France, and Germany before the war to do a large business.

The size of the town in which the trader is located has much less to do with present-day trading in West Africa than in Europe or America. Some trade centers may be very small and yet may be surrounded by a number of small

native towns. There are but few large native towns near the coast; they are in the far interior, but there are many small towns. Much depends upon the natural resources and transportation facilities surrounding a trade center. Therefore, the population of the town in which a trader is located has practically no bearing upon the amount of trade. The native will go 50, 100, or 200 miles to trade. There are caravans that go even farther. The native has little of real accumulated wealth, even in the far interior in the large towns, other than a little money in the banks or hoarded and his fine gowns, jewelry, and cattle. He is beginning, however, to accumulate and to place more money in the banks. Land ownership is, as a rule, communal or tribal.

West Africa is now well provided with telegraph facilities, including wireless stations, and there are numerous lines of steamers running to Europe. Steamship connection with the United States is by means of the Shipping Board's steamers, operated by the Bull Line, and by a line of British steamers, operated by the Elder Dempster Company. Import and export duties are altogether lacking in some of the colonies and light in the others. Here, then, is a vast and promising commercial field to which

Americans might well turn their attention. On this subject the writer says:

The best possible way to secure more of the West African trade is to establish branches, at least one in each of the seacoast colonies; say at Dakar, Conakry, Freetown, Monrovia, Grand Bassam, Accra, Lome, Porto Novo, Lagos, Dualla, and Matadi, to handle at first only staple goods to be sold in bulk to the thousands of petty traders. These branches should at the same time serve for purchasing the native raw products which are being purchased by the United States more and more and in larger quantities every year, especially the cocoa beans, mahogany logs, palm kernels and oil, hides and skins, etc. Of course, to purchase the native raw products to advantage there should be small interior branches connected with the larger coast branches. These small branches might sometimes retail imported goods. This is the method practiced by the large European firms.

American goods have always been received with great favor in West Africa. The demand for them has increased during the war. At present little difficulty would be experienced in the establishment of American trading branches here. Where this is not thought best there should be agencies, well selected by someone who should come to the coast on an inspection trip. Agencies selected by mail would not prove profitable.

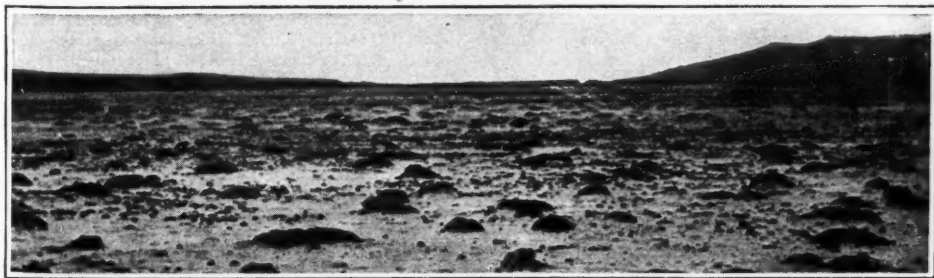
CHILE'S UNIQUE NITRATE INDUSTRY

THE position of the nitrate industry in the affairs of Chile is a curiosity in economics. Upon this one industry both the government and private industry are dependent for their prosperity. In ordinary times nitrate of soda constitutes nearly 80 per cent. of the country's exports, and the export tax on nitrate and its principal by-product, iodine, supplies more than half of the total income of the government.

A comprehensive and up-to-date account of this great industry is contributed to *Commerce Reports* (Washington, D. C.) for May 24 by the Latin-American Division of

the U. S. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. From this source we glean the following facts:

The nitrate fields, the principal source of Chile's wealth, are limited to a narrow strip of arid desert located on the eastern slope of the coastal range, west of the cordillera of the Andes, at an altitude of from 2000 to 5000 feet above sea level, and inland a distance varying from sixteen miles in the northern part of the zone to ninety miles in the southern part. This region extends south from the valley of the Camarones River, the northern boundary of the Province of Tarapaca, to the southern boundary of the Province of Antofagasta. Outside of this area there are only the negligible deposits in the Province



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THE DESERT FROM WHICH CHILE'S NITRATE WEALTH IS DRAWN

of Tacna, and a few isolated deposits whose exploitation on a commercial scale is practicable in the Province of Atacama.

There is a great deal of speculation concerning the probable duration of the beds, but the very range of the conclusions arrived at shows on what inadequate data they have been based. One expert estimates the explored deposits to contain 240,000,000 metric tons of nitrate, and calculates the contents of the unexplored region to be twice as large. According to these figures it would require over 240 years to exhaust the supply at the present rate of production. Other estimates are less optimistic and set a much earlier date for the exhaustion of the beds.

A detailed account, too long to be quoted here, is given of the methods of mining and refining caliche, the raw material from which the nitrate is obtained. With respect to the by-product iodine it is noted that the output is carefully regulated by a producers' trust, in order that the limited market may not be overstocked. The average pre-war export of iodine amounted to about 475,000 kilos annually.

While the all important "nitrate" is nitrate of soda, another product of these deposits, nitrate of potassium, is now attracting the attention of experts, and it is said that an American process has recently been perfected for extracting this substance at small cost. This is but one of the ways in which the producers are trying to put the industry on a more profitable footing, owing to the higher cost of labor and supplies and the fear of competition with the synthetic nitrates produced elsewhere. The existing methods of mining and refining caliche are notoriously wasteful, and chemical engineers are conducting experiments with a view to improving these processes.

About 40 per cent. of the Chilean nitrate, according to statistics for 1917, was produced by Chilean companies, and about 38 per cent. by British companies. Other nationalities engaged in the industry were Slavic, German, American, Peruvian, Spanish, etc.

The market for nitrate steadily increased and Chile's profits from the exploitation of this natural monopoly increased proportionately until the beginning of the war, when the European demand for nitrate fertilizers practically ceased. Fortunately for the nitrate producers and for Chile, however, the Allies soon found that they needed this product for the manufacture of high explosives; and needed it so badly that they were willing to pay high prices, allocate shipping space to carry it from Chile to the United States and Europe, and furnish the necessary supplies to the producers in Chile; as a result, the intense depression which had begun with the declaration of war was quickly succeeded by an unparalleled prosperity.

The cessation of hostilities in Europe brought to a sudden and complete halt the need of nitrate for ammunition manufacture and precipitated a period of depression similar to that of 1914. The decline in the market necessitated the closing of a considerable number of the oficinas and the curtailment of production at others; quotations of nitrate stock slid steadily downward; the efforts of the association of producers to maintain selling prices partially failed and they were forced to yield bit by bit in order to sell even a portion of the nitrate stocks rapidly accumulating on the Chilean coast.

After the signing of the armistice, the United States Government no longer needed the nitrate purchased for war purposes and transferred the amount on hand from the War Department to the Agricultural Department for distribution to the farmers. This amount plus a considerable quantity already held by the Agricultural Department was sold at cost. As long as these stocks were available at low prices, there was little chance for the sale of privately held nitrate, but the last of this supply was disposed of in the spring of 1919 and subsequently all government restrictions on nitrate imports were removed. The nitrate dealer has a free market once more and, what is of equal importance in his estimation, the government plants for the manufacture of synthetic nitrate have been closed. Imports of nitrate of soda into the United States for the year 1919 were 407,459 long tons, about 65 per cent. of the 1913 imports.

From what has already been said it will be realized that the Chilean Government cannot afford to allow the exports of nitrate to decline. Neither can it afford to have the 50,000 laborers ordinarily employed in the industry idle. It is compelled to have a well-defined nitrate policy.

During the depression of 1914 the government arranged to make temporary loans to the producers in order that they might not have to close their plants. Under this system the nitrate companies desiring them were issued government bonds, which they were at liberty to sell in the open market. These advances were to be guaranteed on nitrate stocks and to be refunded plus the accrued interest when said stocks should be sold. These arrangements have been continued up to the present time, the companies now being allowed to receive not to exceed four paper pesos for each Spanish quintal of nitrate delivered at the port of embarkation and not to exceed three pesos for each Spanish quintal stored at the oficinas. From August, 1914, to December, 1918, government loans to producers amounted to 103,946,000 paper pesos and reimbursement of these loans to 98,570,000 paper pesos. Loans during January, 1919, amounted to 9,561,000 paper pesos.

Further evidence of the government's interest in the welfare of the nitrate industry is afforded by the recent appropriations to the newly established industrial school for nitrate research; by the recognition accorded the scientific society lately formed by a number of Chilean and English nitrate companies; and by two plans recently discussed in Congress. The first of these plans, to centralize sales under government control, has

been severely criticized; the second, to alter the basis of the nitrate tax, has been discussed several times but no definite action taken. The nitrate tax, as now imposed, is a fixed amount, 2s. 4d. (\$0.568) per Spanish quintal of nitrate exported, and the cost of production varies according to the nitrate content of the raw material exploited and according to the size and efficiency of the reducing plant, wherefore some companies realize much larger profits than others. Under the plan now being discussed the tax would be levied on the profits of the companies rather than on the amount of nitrate exported.

During the recent crisis a second attempt has been made to organize the nitrate producers into an association which shall limit production and centralize sales, the object being to allow only as much nitrate to be exported as the consuming markets can absorb at a price high enough to

afford reasonable profits to the producers. The first association was formed in 1901 and ceased to exist in 1909 because of a disagreement concerning production allotments to certain companies. The present association is the outgrowth of the former association and the Nitrate Propaganda Committee organized by the English companies about 1889 and later known as the *Asociacion de Salitre de Propaganda*. This association has had headquarters in Chile and has had two distinct prerogatives: To keep a complete statistical record of the progress of the nitrate industry, and to increase the world market for nitrate through the education of the public as to its uses. For this latter purpose propaganda committees have been maintained in France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Italy, the United States, Japan, Egypt, Cuba, Australasia, England, and Wales.

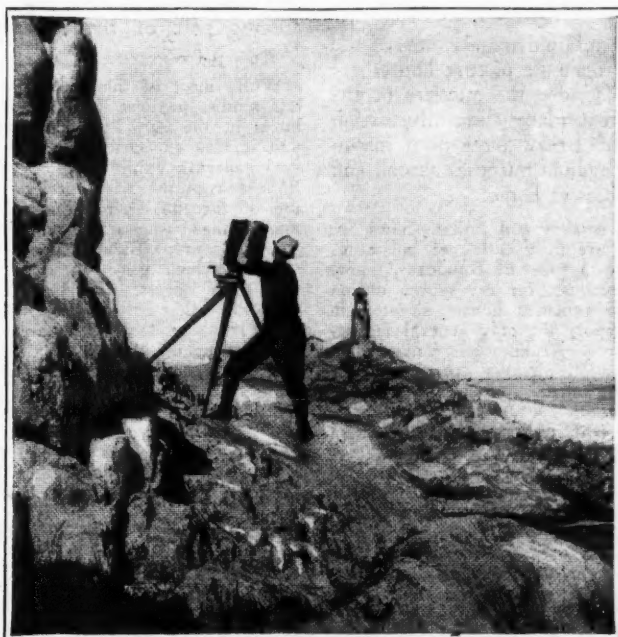
MOVING PICTURES IN LATIN AMERICA

EVERY year, says Miss Muriel Baily, in the *Bulletin of the Pan-American Union* (Washington), the United States sends abroad about 200,000,000 feet of motion-picture films, and one-third of this output goes to Latin America.

While the "silent drama" speaks a universal language, there are various interesting peculiarities in the way it appeals to different races of mankind and the conditions under

which it is presented to each of them. Miss Baily's article contains much novel information concerning the part played by the cinema in the life of the American countries to the south of us. Thus we are told that

Argentina has taken first place in the South American moving-picture field, and there moving pictures have become an exceedingly popular form of amusement. Aside from the opportunities furnished to the people for observing the



PHOTOGRAPHING BIRD LIFE ON THE PALOMINAS ISLANDS OF PERU

regular dramas, in Buenos Aires alone there are forty-five cafés where moving pictures are shown to the patrons without extra charge. Practically every city in Argentina has one or more moving-picture theaters, and a number of firms have been taking native films, recording Argentine historical incidents, customs of the rural folk, and events of current interest. One film, "No-bleza Gaucho," dealing with the life and customs of the Argentine cowboy, has been very popular, but has never been shown in the United States. A local theatrical company also produced a film dealing with the life of the Argentine plains people entitled "Abajo el Sol de la Pampa"; but the manufacture of films for export purposes of a purely amusement character has not yet attained the dignity of an industry. The installation of the moving-picture plant, which the Argentine Government used in its display at the Turin Exposition, at the Government's hotel in Buenos Aires for the enlightenment and education of newly arrived immigrants, has proved an immense success. Views of the country, its agricultural and cattle industries, have been of great value to the newly arrived citizens in aiding them to adapt themselves to their new surroundings.

The taste of the Uruguayans runs to dramas and detective films, while comedies, spectacles, and war scenes are appreciated, but not so strikingly popular. It is interesting to note, however, that the method of presenting the current events of the day adopted by producers in the United States has proven immensely interesting to the citizens of Uruguay, in common with all other Latin-American countries. The only criticism, which is rather general, is of the poor translations which accompany the pictures, and the inability to quickly comprehend the text detracts from the enjoyment, as well as the educational value of the subject.

The Brazilian public demands films of the best quality, and open-air picture houses are much in favor. Under the auspices of the government a great many films illustrating the advantages of Brazil have been manufactured for propaganda purposes abroad and educational purposes at home.

While in Brazil cowboy and Indian shows are not popular, they are provocative of boisterous applause on the north coast of Honduras, where there is not a playhouse, for the spoken drama and the two motion-picture houses situated in Ceiba and Tela supply the only general amusement the people have. Ecuador has a number of cities in which motion pictures are shown, the people's taste being clearly along the lines of drama and comedy.

Colombia imports all of its own films because of the lack of refund upon reexportation and the high import duty, and the importing agencies in Baranquilla, Bogota, and Cartagena are partial to French and Italian films. Here ladies in stiff brocades and dashing knights meet with favor, while realism is not greatly appreciated. The small centers all over Colombia have moving-picture houses, and one mining company has already installed a "movie" to keep its employees contented, and others are contemplating doing the same. The possibilities offered for educa-

tional development along the right lines through this means of keeping miners "contented" is limitless, and should go a long way toward counteracting the disquieting influences which have gained such a headway with the working forces of the whole world. The grades of films shown in the best places in Venezuela are of the highest, and the moving picture would be even more popularly known were it not that in some of the interior towns there is no electric current and often no suitable building for such an exhibition. In Salvador, Nicaragua, and Paraguay the cinematograph situation is much the same—a development of intrinsic civilizing and educational value, gaining steadily in popularity from an amusement standpoint and attracting increasing attention and support from the governments.

Chileans of all classes so appreciate moving pictures that theatres catering to first- and second-class patrons have been established and flourish. The theaters in outlying districts show the same films as those in the cities, and at a cheaper price; but so closely is the class distinction drawn that a first-class patron will go miles to reach a first-class theater rather than attend the same performance at the second-class. Products from the United States predominate in both quality and quantity, and Chilean agencies provide pictures for both Peru and Bolivia. During the war the allied governments provided official films of war scenes which were shown throughout the country from time to time, sometimes for the benefit of the Red Cross, but generally free, and in which the people appeared greatly interested.

Not to multiply details with respect to the several countries, it should be noted that, as a rule, each country has its peculiar tastes and demands, and these deserve careful study on the part of the film-exporters of the United States.

While most of the South American countries had motion pictures in connection with their exhibits at the San Francisco-Panama Exhibition, and it was expected that these films would be very generally exhibited after the fair was ended, Bolivia was the first foreign country to make use of the movies in advertising its industries among the business men of the United States. The reels prepared and shown were based upon subjects which gave an excellent idea of the wealth, resources, and business activities and customs of that nation. The Panama Canal perhaps is about the best known of the screened wonders of the Americas, although Panama itself is but slightly interested in educational movies. A film of Colon, with its 17,000 inhabitants, wherein half of the nations of the earth are represented, showing its beautiful public buildings and the water front, with the immense wall which guards the isthmus, has created wide interest wherever it has been shown. From South America also has come to the United States the world wonder of the Iguazu Falls, only visited by a few score of white men; and the eighteen-months' expedition of camera men now on throughout Latin America is bound to give to the rest of the world a still broader conception of the greatest of these wonderful countries.

TEACHING DRAMATIC ART WITH MOTION PICTURES

ALTHOUGH Professor Donald Clive Stuart occupies the chair of "dramatic literature" at Princeton University, he points out, in a contribution to *Visual Education* (Chicago), how much confusion has prevailed with regard to the position of the drama in human affairs on account of the laying of too much stress upon its literary aspects. For centuries, he says, from Aristotle's time down to the eighteenth century, the drama was classified as a form of poetry, because originally all plays were written in verse. After prose plays had forced themselves upon the recognition of critics, the conception of dramatic art was somewhat broadened, but it was still looked upon as a branch of literature; an idea still prevalent in educational circles.

Diderot, in the eighteenth century, had a clearer vision, as evinced by his statement that when he went to a play he closed his ears and derived his impression of the performance from the stage pictures. More recently:

The younger Dumas proclaimed that a man without any value as a writer could be an excellent dramatist. The dramatist became a playwright, not a play-writer. He made or built plays. The literary critics, however, sought to take revenge. They ceased to regard the modern dramatist as a producer of art. They announced the downfall of the theatre. The only trouble was that the theatre did not fall. Instead, the theatre became a very important element in modern life.

The last stronghold of reactionary ideas and influence against true dramatic art lies in our educational institutions. The teaching of drama as an art was rarely, if ever, attempted until the beginning of the twentieth century. Courses in which plays were studied were, at best, courses in literature or literary history. At worst, they were courses in morphology, scansion, and grammar. One first came in contact with Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* in a course of the latter type. One studied Shakespeare as a poet and philosopher. The dramatic art of Shakespeare and Sophocles was never mentioned. Except in rare instances, no plays less than three hundred years old were studied even from a literary point of view. If any one ventured to suggest that there was something in drama besides dialog he was generally met with the hopeless answer: "You refer to scenery."

Within the last twenty-five years many institutions of higher education have recognized that drama is an art by itself; and men have been appointed to teach dramatic art, not as a mere branch of literature, but as an art which, to make its effect, may call upon the painter, the

electrician, costumer, the singer and actor, the musician, the writer, and the producer or director who welds the separate arts of these persons into an artistic unity. Courses in which the principles of dramatic art are explained from this point of view are not necessarily courses in playwriting. Indeed, courses in playwriting should be restricted to very few students; whereas courses on dramatic art should be open to all persons who enjoy the theatre.

Although most of our large universities now offer courses in dramatic art in this broad sense of the term, the teaching is still mainly verbal rather than visual. Moreover, the theatre-going public at large is still almost entirely self-educated with respect to the drama. Probably not one person in a hundred thousand has been offered the same opportunity to cultivate a good taste for drama that he has had to cultivate a good taste for literature. There appears to be real need for new methods of teaching the drama, not only in the universities but also in the lower educational grades.

In this era of the motion picture the means of removing the handicap under which the teaching of dramatic art labors is so simple, so obvious that it is strange to find the handicap still in existence. The technique of football is already taught in colleges by means of motion pictures which show far more vividly than could the observance of the actual plays the value and faults of certain formations. If teachers of drama had at their disposition films showing important scenes or even entire dramas, the visual element in dramatic art could be reproduced, whereas, at present the effect on drama of scenery, of the shape and size of the stage, of the grouping of actors, of the acting itself, etc., can be illustrated only by verbal descriptions and by an appeal to the imagination of the student.

Such reproduction of plays, however, should be made in purely theatrical and dramatic conditions. For instance, in making a film of *Othello* to illustrate Shakespeare's play to a class studying dramatic art, the street scenes should not be filmed in Venice, Shakespeare's scenes should not be edited or changed in the slightest degree. It would be necessary to make the picture reproduce the play as far as possible just as it was originally acted on the Elizabethan stage. Then the play, or, at least, striking scenes from the play, could be filmed as produced under conditions prevailing in the modern theatre.

If a class in a high school could be shown these films, Shakespeare would suddenly become a dramatist to the boy and girl who now consider him as a poet they ought to admire. Everyone who teaches Euripides could arouse an intense interest in his course if he could show a motion picture reproduction of *Granville*

Barker's representation of *Iphigenia* or Margaret Anglin's production of *Medea*. If, after reading the first act of *Cyrano de Bergerac*, a class were shown this act on a screen—and it would make a wonderful film without a cut or change—the whole class would re-read the act with intense interest and with a much deeper understanding of the drama. Surely, one does not need to point out what such films showing

the development of the stage and drama would mean to those teaching the few courses in dramatic art now offered in our schools; but one excellent result would be to make it possible for every college, at least, to offer such a course. The demand for instruction in the art of the theatre would become universal and irresistible. No one could question the utility or efficiency of such a course.

THE LATIN-AMERICAN BOOK TRADE

IT will probably surprise most American readers to be told that the people of South and Central America are now looking toward the United States as a source of supply for their books and other printed matter. Yet that is the conclusion of an article in *Inter-America* for June from the pen of Jesús Semprum.

This writer states that only France, Spain, and the United States have a book trade with the Southern countries. Before the war Germany had begun to lay plans for the capture of this trade, and was printing devotional books, which may have been intended as a means of estimating the market. After the South and Central American nations revolted from Spanish rule about a century ago Spain lost her hold on the book trade of those colonies, and France at once succeeded to it. French supremacy in this field was maintained until very recently, and her loss of this lead is attributed more to her own indifference than to the attitude of the Latin-American countries themselves. This supremacy extended to the treatment of scientific, philosophical, and technical subjects. As to the present opportunity for American publishers, the article says:

As book markets, the Latin republics offer the incalculable advantage that the present is the moment when the general culture of their peoples is beginning to acquire serious proportions. Fifty million inhabitants, on the road to a rapid increase, constitute an enviable clientage; and

the interest manifested by all the great industrial nations in the introduction of their products there leaves no doubt as to the importance the southern countries are assuming for the book-sellers. Think for a moment of the schools, colleges, universities, and libraries that exist in those countries! Consider that the number of active readers in the South—as a minimum estimate—may be computed at fifteen millions, with undeniable evidence of a rapid increase!

Certain primary reading books published in the United States have had a wide sale in Latin-American countries, although they have been open to criticism on the ground of inaccuracies of language and of other serious faults. In some of the schools of Venezuela it was the custom until recently to place in the hands of the children a primary text in which allusions were made to the winter of our temperate zone, although the children of Venezuela had of course never seen that kind of winter. It is obvious that there should be some adaptation of the text to the climate of a given latitude.

This writer further intimates that it would be well for the North American bookseller to try to adapt himself to the trade customs of the Southern Continent, and not to seek to impose his own methods abruptly. Reasonable terms, both as to prices and conditions of payment, should be offered to the South American booksellers. With the development of banking interests this matter, the writer thinks, should not be difficult to adjust.



THE NEW BOOKS

POLITICS AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS

The Ghost in the White House. By Gerald Stanley Lee. E. P. Dutton & Company. 310 pp.

The phrase employed as the title of this book is taken from this sentence in the body of the work itself: "The White House is haunted by a vague, helpless abstraction, a kind of ghost of the nation, called the People." It is the author's endeavor to show how the people of the United States can make their wants known to the President—how they can "make themselves felt" with the President, as he expresses it. In short, it is a program of policy, or platform, and it differs from the ordinary party platform in its directness and clarity of statement. It is a remarkably successful attempt to formulate the definite, practical desires of the plain people.

Albany: the Crisis in Government. By Louis Waldman. Boni & Liveright. 233 pp.

This is the story of the suspension, trial, and expulsion from the New York State Legislature of the five Socialist Assemblymen. It was written by one of the expelled members, and allowance must, of course, be made for occasional extravagance in statement due to the passions and resentments of the hour. It is an *ex parte* report of the case, to which an introduction is supplied by one of the attorneys for the defense. The line of cleavage in public opinion as to the merits of this case is not likely to be materially modified by the publication of this book. It is, however, an interesting and readable account of a famous episode.

Real Democracy in Operation. By Felix Bonjour. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 226 pp.

A valuable study of the Swiss Federation by the former President of the Swiss National Council. Well-informed Americans are more or less familiar with the practical aspects of Swiss democracy, but they have rarely had an opportunity to read an account of the actual workings of the Swiss Government, as viewed from the inside. A democracy that has been in successful operation for a thousand years is at least worthy of our thoughtful consideration.

The Budget and Responsible Government. By Frederick A. Cleveland and Arthur Eugene Buck. Introduction by William Howard Taft. Macmillan. 406 pp.

Dr. Cleveland has been a leading exponent of budget reform ever since his appointment on the Commission on Economy and Efficiency by President Taft in 1912. Although for the following seven years Congress did nothing in support of this movement for administrative reform, action was taken by forty-four of the States and by scores of American cities looking toward the in-

troduction of a budgetary procedure, and at the last the question has become acute in the national Congress itself. This book, by Dr. Cleveland and Mr. Buck, reviews the progress that has been made and offers a terse statement of the principles involved. It tells what has been done in the various States, and, better still, outlines the measures that must be adopted in the future, by both federal and State governments. The Ohio system is described elsewhere in this REVIEW.

Evolution of the Budget in Massachusetts, 1691-1919. By Luther H. Gulick. Macmillan. 243 pp.

This is one of a series of special studies in administration made by the Bureau of Municipal Research of New York and the Training School for Public Service. As a history of appropriation methods and practice in one of the important States of the Union, the book has suggestions for practical administrators throughout the country who are dealing with State budgets.

The Nonpartisan League. By Herbert E. Gaston. Harcourt, Brace & Howe. 325 pp.

At the outset of another national campaign there is more than ordinary interest in the organization of farmers which has for some time dominated that State of North Dakota and claims a membership of 200,000 in thirteen Western States. In this volume Mr. Gaston, who for three years was connected with the Nonpartisan League's publications, attempts to tell the story of the organization in simple and direct fashion. His narrative throws much light on agrarian conditions in the Middle West and Northwest.

The Boss and the Machine. By Samuel P. Orth. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press. 203 pp. Ill.

The Cleveland Era. By Henry Jones Ford. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press. 232 pp. Ill.

The Agrarian Crusade. By Solon J. Buck. New Haven: Yale University Press. 215 pp. Ill.

The New South. By Holland Thompson. New Haven: Yale University Press. 250 pp. Ill.

We have no reason to suppose that the editors of "The Chronicles of America" had in mind the special demands of a Presidential campaign year when they planned their admirable series. Yet if they had consciously arranged to bring out a library of instructive books in the field of American politics for the special edification of the "first voter," they could hardly have made a better selection of material or secured a more attractive and helpful presentation. Four of the recent issues in the "Chronicles" impress us as having exceptional merit from this point of view. In "The Boss and the Machine," Mr. Samuel P. Orth describes the ways of the politician and the

methods of party organization in a dispassionate, informing statement which loses nothing of objective and permanent value from the vivid pictures that it gives of ruling personalities and organizations. The young voter cannot expect to understand the politics of to-day without having some knowledge of the subject-matter that is comprised in Mr. Orth's book. A truly significant transition period in our political history is outlined by Professor Henry Jones Ford in "The Cleveland Era," which describes the first successful revolt from Republican dominance in our national politics since the Civil War. It also gives a good exposition of the rising free-silver movement within the Democratic party. The farmer in American politics is the theme treated by Mr. Solon J. Buck in "The Agrarian Cru-

sade," in which are related the rise and fall of the so-called Granger Movement in the West, the Greenback propaganda, the Farmers' Alliance, the organization of the Populist Party and its surprising success in 1892, the Silver issue, and more recently the growth of the Nonpartisan Party in North Dakota and other States. With no desire to encourage sectionalism, it seems to have been the purpose of the editors to have every part of the country intelligently presented in "The Chronicles of America." "The New South," written by a Southern man, Dr. Holland Thompson, gives a most illuminating account of the industrial, intellectual, and social progress that has been made by the South since the Civil War. In this volume, too, land and labor problems have an important place.

SOCIOLOGY: ECONOMICS

Social Theory. By G. D. H. Cole. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 220 pp.

The viewpoint of this little book is in sharp contrast with theories of the state and its functions so long entertained in Germany. The author believes that every social structure is an association of individuals for the accomplishment of their common interests. It has for its object not merely material efficiency, but the fullest self-expression for each and every member. The state's powers, therefore, are limited to the fundamental political purpose of a government. It is neither a mechanism, an organism, nor a person. The author would not trust the state, like a machine, to work automatically; neither would he permit it, like a riotous plant, to grow out of bounds, nor, like a person, to think for itself. Interesting deductions follow from these premises, which the reader may or may not accept in their entirety. At any rate, the book does away with certain misleading analogies.

The New Industrial Unrest: Reasons and Remedies. By Ray Stannard Baker. Doubleday, Page & Company. 231 pp.

In this book Mr. Baker discusses the most recent phases of the industrial problem, giving par-

ticular attention to the so-called shop-council system for settling labor disputes. He describes actual factory experience with this system.

Humanizing Industry. By R. C. Feld. E. P. Dutton & Company. 390 pp.

An account of practical measures for accident-prevention, health-conservation, education, industrial pensions, death benefits, housing, profit-sharing, and representation for employees, presented in the form of fiction.

The Six-Hour Shift and Industrial Efficiency. By Lord Leverhulme. With an introduction by Henry R. Seager. Henry Holt and Company. 265 pp.

The American edition of Lord Leverhulme's noteworthy plea for the six-hour day. Professor Seager, in the introduction, bespeaks the attention of American readers because Lord Leverhulme's argument is based on the actual experience of a successful employer, is inspired by a sympathetic understanding of the desires and aspirations of Anglo-American wage earners, and proposes remedies equally adapted to the American as to the British situation.

IRELAND UP TO DATE

The Irish Case Before the Court of Public Opinion. By P. Whitwell Wilson. Fleming H. Revell Company. 160 pp.

The alarming developments in the Irish agitation against British rule and authority have not only resulted in a vast discussion in periodicals and newspapers, but have also produced some books, which, though written for immediate purposes, have more than passing value. For example, Mr. P. Whitwell Wilson, who has more than once written for this REVIEW and who is now living in the United States as a special correspondent of the London *Daily News*, has produced for American readers a little volume

entitled "The Irish Case Before the Court of Public Opinion." Mr. Wilson was formerly a Liberal member of Parliament and also for a number of years worked in harmony with men like the late Mr. Redmond and the other Nationalist leaders. Mr. Wilson, however, is wholly opposed to the present Sinn Fein movement for a separate Irish Republic, and he undertakes in this book to show how, one after another, the real grievances of Ireland have been remedied. Mr. Wilson's book is that of a generous Englishman who is a friend of Ireland and a friend of the United States, and whose devotion to the ideals of justice and honor in public as well as private life is attested by a fine record in poli-

tics and in journalism. His book is valuable from the standpoint of its convenient recital of recent political history in relation to Ireland, and should have a wide reading.

Irish Impressions. By Gilbert K. Chesterton. John Lane Company. 222 pp.

Mr. Gilbert K. Chesterton is an Englishman whose readers are doubtless quite as numerous in the United States as in Great Britain. He made a visit to Ireland in the critical days of the war period some two years ago. His book, entitled "Irish Impressions," which he preferred not to publish until early this year, grows out of the experiences of that visit. It is a book that attempts deep analysis rather than mere surface descriptions. Mr. Chesterton regards the trouble between Ireland and England as mostly due to

blunders and misunderstandings. He thinks that the English people do not understand that in the very fiber of their personal and family life the Irish are a distinct nationality, quite irrespective of whether they speak the English language or not. He believes, like Mr. Wilson, that it is necessary from all standpoints that the Irish nation should maintain political connections with the English nation, but he is convinced that this fact of nationality is not sufficiently recognized in England, and he believes that the Irish peasantry can be brought around to a realization of the benefits of the British connection if right measures are taken by the British Government and Parliament. This volume is a most notable contribution to the whole subject and one of the most important achievements of Mr. Chesterton's long and brilliant career.

BIOGRAPHY AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Life of Lord Kitchener. By Sir George Arthur. Macmillan. Vol. I: 330 pp. Vol. II: 346 pp. Vol. III: 419 pp. Ill.

There are several reasons why special interest should attach to the appearance of the official biography of Lord Kitchener at this time. The ending of his life with the sinking of the *Hampshire* in June, 1916, was in itself one of the dramatic episodes of the war. Furthermore, as the years have passed, the Allied public has become more and more impressed with the importance of Kitchener's mission to Russia and convinced that if it could have been carried out, the later course of the war would have been different from what it actually was. The first two of Sir George Arthur's volumes are required to tell the story of Kitchener's life up to the beginning of the war, and it is needless to say that this authorized account is of extraordinary interest. No other career in modern British history is more significant. The concluding volume of the set is wholly devoted to the great War and Lord Kitchener's part in it. The biographer was Kitchener's secretary, and he has had free access to official documents as well as to private archives. In a brief statement concerning Lord Kitchener and the new British army Earl Haig asks, "Who can doubt now that, but for this man and his work, Germany would have been victorious?"

Talks with T. R. From the Diaries of John J. Leary, Jr. Houghton Mifflin Company. 334 pp. Ill.

It is well understood that for many years the late Colonel Roosevelt was on terms of special intimacy with a small group of newspaper men and magazine writers. Any one of these men could easily have made up a book from their confidential talks with the ex-President, which could not fail to interest the public. Mr. Leary, as it happened, kept notebooks of such conversations for a period extending over thirty years. As transcribed in the present volume of "Talks with T. R.," these notes give a vivid portrayal of Roosevelt's attitude at various times towards public measures and public men.

Herbert Hoover: The Man and His Work. By Vernon Kellogg. D. Appleton & Company. 375 pp.

Dr. Kellogg was himself associated with Mr. Hoover in his various wartime activities. In this book, however, he does not limit himself to Mr. Hoover's public career, but goes back to his Quaker childhood in Iowa and Oregon, and his college days at Stanford University in California. He then follows the course of Mr. Hoover's rapid progress as a mining engineer, his work in China, and London, and in other parts of the world, concluding with a detailed account of the organization and development of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, the United States Food Administration, and the American Relief Administration.

Buffalo Bill's Life Story. By Colonel W. F. Cody. Cosmopolitan Book Corporation. 328 pp. Ill.

Colonel W. F. Cody's life story is important not because it records the adventures of an individual, thrilling and romantic as they were, but because it epitomizes the transition of the old West from wilderness conditions to civilized life, all within the span of a single human lifetime. "Buffalo Bill" was pony express rider, Indian fighter, army scout, hunter, and showman in his time, and he lived to see the phrase "Wild West" made obsolete by the onrush of civilization. His autobiography well deserves a place on the library shelf devoted to Western history.

Finding a Way Out: an Autobiography. By Robert Russa Moton. Doubleday, Page & Company. 295 pp.

The late Booker T. Washington's "Up From Slavery" was once characterized as "a new and better Uncle Tom's Cabin." A similar quality is to be noted in this autobiography by Mr. Washington's successor as the head of Tuskegee Institute. Major Moton was distinguished for his important services in the Great War, and his book deserves to be read on his own account,

and also for the side lights that it throws upon negro conditions and problems. The net impression of this autobiography is one of amazement at the progress made by the colored race during the past half-century in this country.

"Shakespeare" Identified in Edward De Vere, the Seventeenth Earl of Oxford. By J. Thomas Looney. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 466 pp. Ill.

The ever-recurring query about the authorship of Shakespeare's plays is now answered in a volume consisting of plausible arguments which identify the genius of the plays with Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, who lived from 1550 to 1604. The author states that his solution of the Shakespeare problem was worked out during the Great War. He announced the fact of his "discovery" in November, 1918, and he now proceeds to set forth the results of the investigations on which his hypothesis is based.

Goldoni and the Venice of His Time. By Joseph Spencer Kinnard. Macmillan. 551 pp. Ill.

The Italian comedian, Goldoni, was born in the seventh year of the eighteenth century, and died seven years before its close. His long career as a playwright and his relations with all sorts and conditions of men make him a suitable character through which to interpret the Venetian life of his time.

All and Sundry. By E. T. Raymond. Henry Holt & Company. 284 pp.

Entertaining and chatty essays on various personalities of the day, including the Prince of Wales, Marshal Foch, President Wilson, M. Clemenceau, Mr. G. K. Chesterton, Sir Eric Geddes, Rudyard Kipling, and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, together with many British celebrities less known to the American public.

THE WAR AND ITS RESULTS

Sir Douglas Haig's Despatches. Edited by Lieut.-Colonel J. H. Boraston. E. P. Dutton & Company. 378 pp. Ill.

Here we have the official record of the British operations on the Western Front from December 19, 1915, when Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig assumed chief command, to April, 1919. The printed despatches are accompanied by portraits of the British generals, sketch maps of the battlefields, and ten large folding maps in a portfolio. An introduction prepared by Field Marshal Foch for a French edition is given both in the original French and in translation. Altogether the volume is an invaluable aid to the student of the campaigns that it describes.

A Brief History of the Great War. By Carlton J. H. Hayes. Macmillan. 461 pp. Ill.

Professor Hayes is known as a wise and scholarly historian of modern Europe. It is doubtless because of his reputation as a well-informed student of the subject that he was chosen to write the articles on the war for the "New International Year Book." This series of articles has been freely drawn upon in the present volume, which is an attempt not, of course, to write a "definitive" history of the war, but rather to sketch its broad outlines. The author's acquaintance with European politics enabled him to supply the appropriate background for his pictures.

"Simsadus: London": The American Navy in Europe. By John Langdon Leighton. Henry Holt and Company. 169 pp. Ill.

As the title of this account of American naval operations in the war, the author chose the cable address of Admiral Sims' headquarters in London. The word "Simsadus," being interpreted, means "Sims—Admiral—U. S." While serving as ensign in the United States Naval Reserve Mr. Leighton had access to the files of the Naval

Intelligence Department and Historical Section. The facts that he relates, impressive in themselves, are doubly interesting at this time in view of the public discussion of the part played by our Navy in the Great War.

The Human Costs of the War. By Homer Folks. Harper & Brothers. 326 pp. Ill.

An expert's estimate and picture of the state of the European peoples at the end of the war. Many years of experience in scientific relief work preceded Mr. Folks' appointment as organizer and director of the Department of Civil Affairs of the American Red Cross in France and, later, as special commissioner to Southeastern Europe. This is a special study of the effect of the shock of war on the children and the adult exiles. Definite answers to the question, What can America do in the present situation of Europe?, are suggested by Mr. Folks' book.

The Peace Conference, Day by Day. By Charles T. Thompson. With an introductory letter by Colonel E. M. House. Brentano's. 423 pp. Ill.

Mr. Thompson is the superintendent of the Associated Press Foreign Service. He acted as special correspondent in reporting the proceedings of the Peace Conference, and Colonel House has vouched for his accuracy. This book gives a circumstantial account of the writing of the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations Covenant.

Germany After the Armistice. By Maurice Berger. With a preface by Baron Beyens. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 333 pp.

Lieutenant Berger, of the Belgian Army, summarizes in this volume the personal testimony of representative Germans concerning the conditions existing in 1919. So we have here a picture of the new Germany as Germans themselves see it.